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Linguistic convergence within the 'Kachin' languages

Müller, André

Abstract: Speakers of the various Kachin languages often use the expression 'Kachin' or 'Kachin language' when speaking in English or Burmese to refer to the Jinghpaw language. There is, however, no single 'Kachin' language. The languages included in the super-ethnic category 'Kachin' include Jinghpaw itself, also spoken in China and Northeast India, where it is called 'Singpho'; Zaiwa (Atsi), Lhaovo (Maru or Langsu), Lashi (Lachik or Lacid), Lisu, Rawang (Krangku), Ngochang (Maingtha or Achang, Ngachang), Pola (Bela), and Hpun. Pola has around 400 speakers and Hpun may no longer be spoken. As the recent work of Sadan, Robinne, and others has shown,2 the Burmese-language term 'Kachin' to refer to these peoples arose fairly recently in the context of colonial Burma. As a category, 'Kachin' may make sense most fully in English or Burmese, given that the term was created and given more meaning by successive governments to denote a category of people useful in the British colonial army. The question of how the people who now fall under this category may have understood themselves and their interconnections in the past and how their views have changed, may ultimately be unanswerable.

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IIAS
International Institute for Asian Studies

theNewsletter

Encouraging knowledge and enhancing the study of Asia

75

Does language equal ethnicity in Burma?

This Focus moves forward a long-stalled reconsideration to argue that the relationship between language, ethnicity, and identity in Burma is not necessarily set in stone. Rather, language may be one element informing an ongoing process that various groups engage in to define themselves in relation to others.

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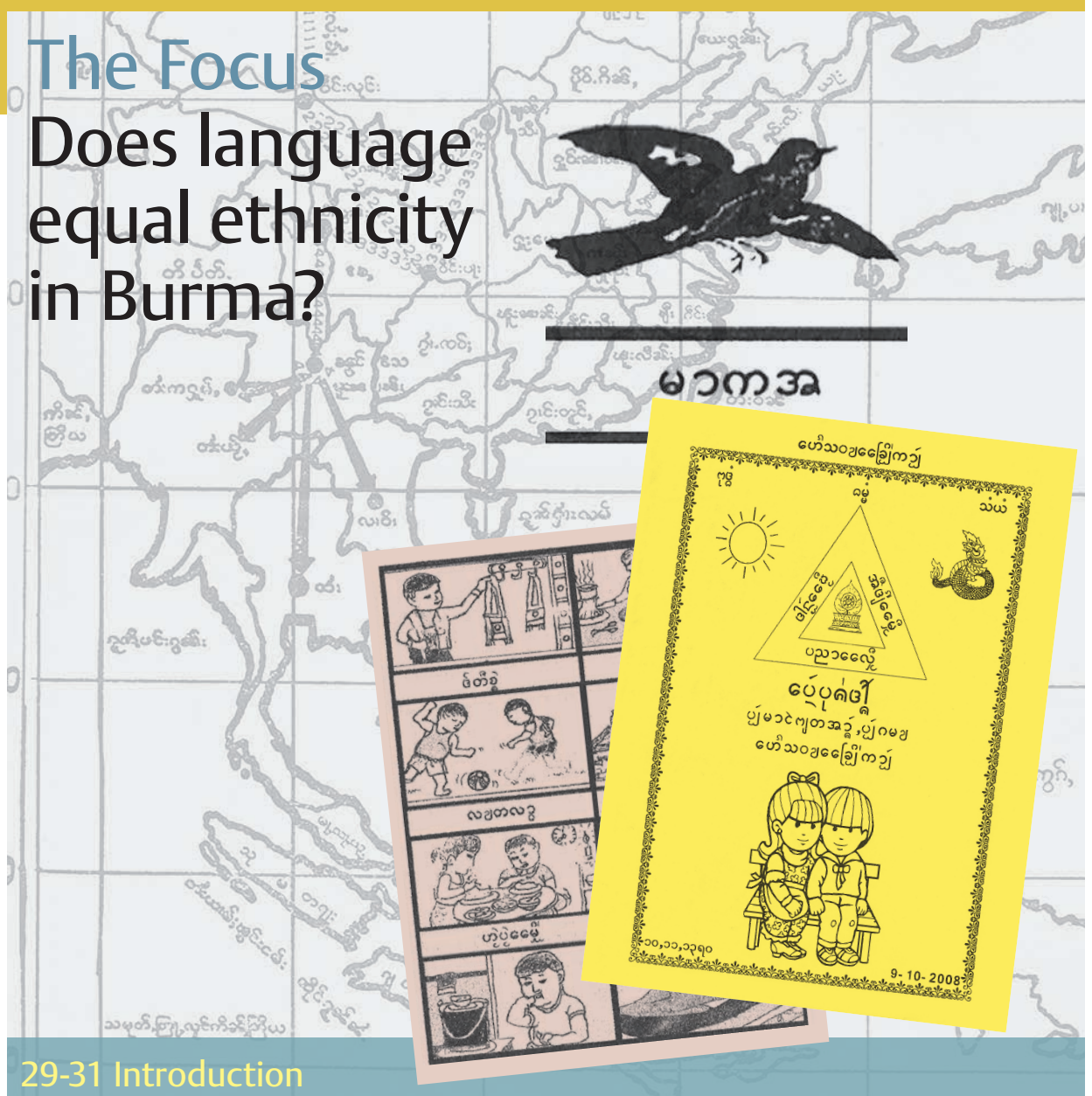
Does language equal ethnicity in Burma?



29-31 Introduction

After decades, the possibilities for doing research in and about Burma have slowly begun to increase. Guest editor **Patrick McCormick** pairs the trajectory of the country, which cut itself off from the international academic community, with the stagnation of Burma Studies. Yet the hurdles academics and intellectuals face are still steep.

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The Tai or Shan people of Burma stand in a complex linguistic and cultural relationship with the peoples around them. **Mathias Jenny** explores how they have adopted ideas and linguistic practices from their larger, more powerful neighbours, while simultaneously fulfilling that same role for nearby upland peoples.

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The Kachin have long featured in anthropology, but how long has this super-ethnic category indexed a local reality? **André Müller** presents a linguistic analysis suggesting that at least some of the speakers in this category have been in close contact for a long time.

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Keita Kuraba and **Masao Imamura** trace the rise of Jinghpaw as the language franca and preeminent medium of cultural and literary expression among the Kachins in Burma since the nineteenth century.

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What happens when people are made into an ethnic group, yet one without a common language or script? **Takahiro Kojima** explores how various Palaung groups have struggled to agree upon and promote a common Palaung language and script.

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Rachel Weymuth focuses specifically on the technical aspects of creating a common Palaung language out of disparate lects, a process involving considerations of power and prestige.

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'Reducing' speech to script means actually reducing its variety and variation. Through the lens of creating a Palaung dictionary, **Nathan Badenoch** traces this process to remind us that the ways Palaung groups have related to each other and their larger neighbours is hardly unchanging.

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People tend to equate language with ethnicity in Burma. Yet as **Patrick McCormick** explores, in whatever way speakers of Burmese dialects consider themselves – as an ethnicity separate from the majority Burmans or not – they tend to occupy the same hierarchical position as the Burman majority.

Expanding humanities

The 2016-2017 academic year started well for IIAS, as we received a major grant from the New York-based Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to continue our innovative work to develop new research and teaching paradigms that seek to move beyond traditional area studies, towards what can best be defined as globally connected humanities.

Philippe Peycam

THE FOUR-YEAR GRANT, through a collaborative platform of over twenty Asian, African, European and North American universities and their local social and cultural partners, will support work toward the co-creation of an alternative humanistic pedagogy curriculum. This follows the successful completion of a previous three-year project (*Rethinking Asian Studies in a Global Context;* www.rethinking.asia), also supported by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, to rethink the scholarly practice of area (Asia) studies in today's global context.

The new programme is entitled *Humanities across Borders: Asia and Africa in the World.* The initiative calls for expanding the scope of the humanities by mobilising the knowledge in 'everyday life practices' that have remained largely unrepresented in contemporary academia. It will connect and mobilise a global network of individuals and institutions capable of generating such knowledge in Asia and Africa in order to develop new pedagogies for teaching, research, and dissemination of this knowledge across disciplinary, national, and sectorial borders. The aim is to contribute to the realignment of the social role and mission of institutions of higher learning with regard to the humanistic principles and values that inspired their establishment in the first place (see also the article on pages 14-15 by Aarti Kawlra and Françoise Vergès).

This overall goal encompasses the following objectives: the establishment of a trans-regional consortium of engaged scholars, educators, and institutions committed to innovations in research and education; the development of experimental methodological interventions through the collection, production, and analysis of humanistic 'meaning-making' knowledge in four regions – Southeast Asia, South Asia, East Asia, and West Africa – along key 'sites of knowledge' and common themes of comparison; the encouragement of university-society participatory activities and, when possible, their institutionalisation in the form of trans-disciplinary centres for testing curricula and pedagogies in partner institutions; the joint finalisation of a curricular matrix capable of integrating other forms of humanistic learning out of different local contexts.

My message here would not be complete without saying a few words about ICAS 10. Work is currently underway to prepare for the convention that will take place in Chiang Mai, Thailand, from 20-23 July 2017, in partnership with Chiang Mai University (CMU). The tenth edition of the biennial ICAS event will be innovative in many ways. In close collaboration with CMU, IIAS is seeking to diversify the range of activities and experiences at the convention, with an effort toward closer connections between intellectual and cultural activities within the local society (ICAS 10 will take pace directly after the annual International Thai Studies Conference, to be held at the same venue). In addition to thematic panels, roundtables and keynotes, the convention will host art and craft exhibitions, film viewings, and academic-civil society exchanges.

Another major innovation concerns the ICAS Book Prize (IBP), now in its seventh edition. For the first time, the IBP will feature publications in languages other than English: Chinese, Korean, French and German. We believe this will contribute to the extension of 'spaces of knowledge' about Asia, and facilitate exchanges between them. The IBP is made possible thanks to the collaboration with a number of key partners including Leiden University's Asia Library, the GIS-Réseau Asie, the Hong Kong Institute of Education, the Seoul National University Asia Centre (SNUAC), the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), and the Schweizerische Akademie der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften.

As these two major IIAS undertakings demonstrate, 2017 – hailed as the 'Asia Year' in Leiden (see page 47) – will see IIAS continue its pioneering work to expand knowledge on and with Asia, in the world.

Philippe Peycam, Director IIAS

The Newsletter and IIAS

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) is a post-doctoral research centre based in the Netherlands. IIAS encourages the multi-disciplinary and comparative study of Asia and promotes national and international cooperation.

The Newsletter is a free periodical published by IIAS. As well as being a window into the institute, The Newsletter also links IIAS with the community of Asia scholars and the worldwide public interested in Asia and Asian studies. The Newsletter bridges the gap between specialist knowledge and public discourse, and continues to serve as a forum for scholars to share research, commentary and opinion with colleagues in academia and beyond.

www.iias.asia

IIAS Main Office

International Institute for Asian Studies
PO Box 9500
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands

Visitors

Rapenburg 59
Leiden
T +31 (0) 71-527 2227
F +31 (0) 71-527 4162
iias@iias.nl

Colophon

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Managing editor: Sonja Zweegers
Guest editor for The Focus: Patrick McCormick
Regional editors: Terence Chong (ISEAS), Kim Chong Min (SNUAC) & Lena Scheen (NYU Shanghai)
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New urban proletariat

Resettlement is a tool applied by many governments as a cure to social or environmental ailments, a step in infrastructure projects or an instrument of social engineering. People are resettled when the land has to be cleared for construction works, when natural disasters strike or environmental conditions deteriorate, but also when states want to assert their sovereignty and enact a process of far-reaching political, economic, and demographic transformation.

Emilia Roza Sulek

Above:
New in town. Pastoralists from Martod County in Dawu. (photo by author; 2007)

IN CHINA, resettlement is part of a large number of state programs affecting both rural and urban populations. Perhaps the best-known case took place as a result of the Three Gorges Dam construction project on the Yangtze River. Another case that gained international attention concerned pastoral populations inhabiting regions as distant as the Tibetan plateau, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia. In 2015, the Chinese government pledged that by the end of the year it would move 'the remaining 1.2 million herders', which begs the question of how many pastoralists were already 'moved' previously.[1] The main reason for resettlement was stated to be the need to conserve the environment, which was said to be suffering from desertification brought on by overgrazing; it was said that removing people and their herds from the land would remedy the problem. The second reason given was the government's desire to improve the living standards of the pastoral populations, to give them better access to education and healthcare facilities, as well as markets and other achievements of 'developed' society. This 'developmental' component is inseparable from resettlement; by implementing resettlement the Chinese state is helping the pastoralists to become 'developed' and to make economic 'progress', but it also 'develops' the country or at least its image.

Resettlement is implemented top-down rather than in deliberation with the communities affected by it. The conditions for requiring resettlement also appear to be quite arbitrary. The narrative about desertification has been proven wrong for the last thirty years; a recent book edited by Behnke and Mortimore shows once again that desertification was a *non-event* that grew or was 'cultivated' by different economic and political actors in order to achieve their own goals.[2] The same applies to a belief that there is a causal link between mobility and poverty and that 'underdevelopment' of pastoral regions is a result of pastoral mobility. As is typical of many discourses on pastoral populations, this one too feeds on imagery originating from 'agricultural' and 'settled' societies, which hinders the understanding of pastoral systems and rationalizes interventions. Finally, when applied to mobile populations, the term 'resettlement' is misleading, as it implies that people being 're-settled' are sedentary people, moved from one settlement to another. The Tibetan pastoralists involved often lived in houses during winter and spring, but moved to tents in higher elevated pastures during summer and autumn. They maintained herds of yaks and sheep which provided them with subsistence and cash income. Even though their mobility had already decreased compared to a century ago, due to the fragmentation of pastoral lands or growing importance of markets and services that anchored pastoralists to settlements, they did not have an all-year-round dwelling and were not permanently *settled*. Therefore, it would be more accurate in their case to talk of 'settlement' or 'sedentarization' rather than *re*-settlement. Extending to pastoral contexts the use of the term resettlement obscures the magnitude of change and the often over-imposed nature of this intervention.

Sedentarization of pastoralists on the Tibetan plateau is a component of a variety of programs that have similar but not always identical goals, target and scope.[3] These programs impress with their technical and financial investments, but they also raise important questions about the rules of participation and its consequences. Scholars have debated the degree of force or persuasion with which the programs were implemented; although some pastoralists volunteered to take part, others were selected by lottery or by local political leaders in order to meet the desired quota. The results of these programs, both already observed as well as expected to ensue, range from economic impoverishment through loss of nomadic lifestyle and knowledge, to the trauma of displacement, negative impact on community cohesion, religious cults and more.[4]

This essay discusses yet another aspect of these programs: their role in the urbanization process in pastoral Tibet. It gathers my observations from the region called Golok, north-eastern Tibetan plateau, from 2007, when these programs were gradually introduced, and 2014, when they were completed.

2007

In 2007, when I started my research,[5] the state programs of moving pastoralists into towns were just gaining momentum. Dawu, prefectural capital of Golok and my home at that time, grew larger as more and more accommodation was built for incoming pastoralists; each new neighbourhood was bedecked with billboards informing people about the goals of the program and the funds invested. It was a hot topic of discussion; pastoralists expressed their doubts and concerns: "Why does the government do it?" And, "Do you think we will really return to our land in ten years?" At the same time, town residents expressed other worries; prophesizing with regard to the newcomers, and fearing an increase in crime and loss of security, they declared: "They will end as beggars, thieves and prostitutes".[6]

I considered conducting research about the program as I was struck by the novelty of this phenomenon and the grim narrative about the governments' hidden agenda of eradicating pastoralism. However, the atmosphere surrounding the topic was so tense that many people cautioned me not to visit the 'resettlement villages' too often. They perceived it to be a politically sensitive topic, and in their opinion it would be wiser to stay away from it. Still, I managed to speak with many pastoralists and visited their homes, both those in the town and in the highlands. Several themes recurred in their narratives.

First of all, the diversity of the pastoralists' experiences was striking. Some people recalled real environmental problems with the desert encroaching on their land, but others said that they had lush pastureland that could feed even bigger herds than they owned. This could indicate that the correlation between the implementation of these programs and their ecological reasons was often rather weak. In addition, the pastoralists had varying expectations of life in town. Their local officials promised them a 'better life', but this notion was interpreted in numerous ways. Some pastoralists sought education for their children, others closer contact with relatives working in town, or better access to healthcare. Many sought an easier life in terms of workload, with less of the physical work that consumed their days on the grasslands. Finally, there were also those who sought nothing from life in town; they did not want to move, but were *forced* to. The pastoralists' experiences differed with regard to their material situation, depending on their earlier economic status and on what their community leaders had negotiated for them. Most families sold their livestock before moving to town, providing them with some savings. All families were given a simple house and a state subsidy, but on top of that there were also some 'extras'. People from some townships received coal, others grain or clothes, and yet others no help in-kind at all. This diversity of expectations and experiences shows how easily broad generalizations can be inaccurate, even on the scale of just one 'resettlement village', which comprises people from different townships.

Secondly, a certain narrative about poverty was evident in conversations with people regardless of their financial status. This manifested itself when they spoke to me, a European foreigner. However, a Tibetan scholar who studied this topic had similar observations.[7] This was a sign of how a scholar or an outsider can be taken (or mistaken) for a 'carrier of hope', who might pass on their message to an NGO or another official body that could intervene, making the settler's life easier. In hindsight, knowing that many of my informants did not struggle to make ends meet, I concluded that this narrative was an expression of shock caused by the costs of life in town, rather than a representation of people's actual poverty.

Why town development needs pastoralists

Thirdly, even though many people complained about their current economic situation, some admitted that they had wanted to move and had done so of their own free will. They explained that life in town had already been desirable, but a step they would not have dared or afforded to take had it not been for the state's assistance. Stories about monetary gains, through renting out the houses they were given, showed that some enterprising individuals were making a profit from the program and were using the situation to achieve their own goals. Some families even split into separate households, with the younger generations staying in the highlands and the elder moving to town, in order to enjoy both the old and the new – or to obtain a free house that could be rented out at some later point. These people saw the program not as a permanent move to town, but as an opportunity to increase their economic activities.

Fourthly, the settled pastoralists were often embarrassed for their living conditions, which they saw as not good enough to receive guests. Compared to their houses in the highlands, those in town felt cold and uninviting, with concrete walls and floors, little furniture and not much in terms of decoration. However, leaving material scarcity aside, I later wondered if some houses stood half-empty simply because they were at the time considered to be merely temporary shelter. The psychology of the settlers, not self-made migrants but people who were forcibly moved across the land by the state, could possibly shed light on the austerity of the homes. Back in 2007, many pastoralists believed that they would not stay in the town forever. "In ten years we'll be back on our land", they said. Some had even left some livestock in the care of highland relatives to secure their future return.

2014

During my stay in Dawu in 2014, it was clear to see that the town had expanded and that the settlement quarters had been 'swallowed-up' by it. Once built at the edge of the town, they were now surrounded by apartment blocks and new residential districts. It was tempting to ask whether the same had happened to their inhabitants: had they also been woven into the urban fabric?

An expanding town needs people, including those with limited urban experience or skills inadequate to engage in secondary or tertiary sectors. The lack of school education, insufficient competence in the Chinese language or 'lack of skills' had been identified as obstacles to the pastoralists' integration into the urban setting,[8] but the growth of the town created employment also for such workers.

Above: Construction work in progress. This is just one of the settlements for the pastoralists in Dawu. (photo by author; 2008)

The carwash saloons, eateries and construction sites needed a labour force, as did the traffic and cleaning sectors. Street vendors selling plastic jewellery and other cheap goods were recruited from among the settlers. But they also found jobs in shops where pastoralists were the main clients and where common language and cultural affinity mattered; even though growing in size, Dawu remained the capital of a pastoral prefecture and it was the pastoralists who were the driving force of the local economy and the service sector. Finally, the *mani* stone industry offered employment, too. The street adjoining the monastery is now filled with carvers' tents, where before only a handful of people had done this work. Workers armed with drilling machines carve Buddhist prayers on evenly cut stone slabs, which are sold to pilgrims and tourists. Writing skills are not essential, as prayers and other images are often cut through stencils.

The Chinese state settlement programs have to be understood beyond environmentalist policies to 'restore' Tibetan grasslands to their 'original' shape, or as an intervention to improve the standard of life of populations who live far away from towns, schools and hospitals. If settlement was only about environment, one would have to conclude that it did not always match its goals; many sources report that grazing bans were not even implemented and that grasslands in fact suffered under-grazing rather than returned to some idyllic state.[9] If settlement was meant to improve the material standards of people's lives, one would need to ask according to which criteria such change should be measured. The pastoralists' stories concerning their financial precariousness, even if sometimes exaggerated, do not create a picture of affluence and satisfaction. At least in the first years after the move, the 'quality jump' either did not take place or was difficult to see.

The settlement programs should instead be considered within the context of China's urbanization drive. In moving pastoralists to towns these programs produced urban citizens. This dimension of the settlement, as fuelling the town development, was not included in the official portfolio of reasons when these programs were introduced. However, it is in this context that they have appeared particularly effective. Even if the settlers retained their rural resident registration (which in China is still difficult to change) they became *de facto* urban dwellers. Their lives, even with difficulties, became town lives. And where the development of towns creates jobs for people, people are needed for the development of towns.[10]

New urban proletariat

There is no doubt that people can adapt to the most adverse conditions and find ways to survive. Tibetan pastoralists can do it, as well. Existing literature reports on the initial shock and confusion, and discusses the identity crisis and social and psychological problems that haunt people who are thrown into new and, for many, unfamiliar settings; the next few years will perhaps bring new studies showing how things have evolved. For many people the scenario of going back to the highlands now seems impossible. "They will never go back to their land", as someone told me in 2014. "Here, they can at least earn some money, but who will give them a job when they are back on their land?" It appears that, after the initial years, people came to perceive urbanization as a one-way street or a process from which there is no way back. Likewise, a similar perception was that as soon as one becomes a paid labourer, there is no return. Once you lose your economic autonomy, you will not be able to regain it.

The settled pastoralists indeed made a transition from life defined by self-employment and a high degree of autonomy, to a life working for others. As if this was not enough, it was often work in sectors that are not particularly well-respected. The art of survival for this new urban proletariat depended on their ability to find economic satisfaction whilst being an underclass in the local society. If they wanted to survive, they had to redefine their thinking about jobs that they had previously never wished to do. "People's attitudes to work *are* changing", as some pastoralists said in 2014. "Even work on a construction site was something we despised. Let alone garbage collecting!"

Towns are the habitat of people who are not economically self-sufficient and who have to rely on others. In effect, they bring forth new needs and job opportunities, binding their citizens with new ties and absorbing newcomers who both fill existing niches and create new ones. Dawu is a special case; it is a growing town that is undergoing substantial investments with the hope to attract tourists, and it provides new settlers with an existing social and economic environment. But how are settlers surviving in other locations? One can only hope that as long as they are relocated into, or near to, existing towns, rather than brand new settlements in isolated areas, they will be able to depend on the existing social and economic structures, into which they can hopefully assimilate, with better or worse results.

Emilia Roza Sulek is a social anthropologist, Mongolist and Tibetologist, and currently a visiting fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies. **The author thanks Lilian Iselin, Saverio Krätli and Jarmila Ptackova for their critical reading of this essay (emisulek@yahoo.com).**

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1 Quoted in Bauer, K. & H. Gyal. 2015. "Introduction", in Bauer, K. & H. Gyal (eds.) 2015. "Resettlement among Tibetan Nomads in China", a special issue of *Nomadic Peoples* 19(2):v.

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3 For an overview, cf. Foggin, J.M. & J. Philips. 2013. "Horizontal Policy Analysis. A Tool to Promote Sustainable Livelihoods Development with Implications for Ecological Resettlement and Other Major Development Programs in the Tibetan Plateau Region." (accessed online: http://plateauperspectives.org/wp-content/uploads/Foggin-and-Phillips-2013.pdf).

4 Cf. Bauer, K. & H. Gyal (eds.) 2015. "Resettlement among Tibetan Nomads in China", *Nomadic Peoples* 19(2).
For a cross-regional perspective cf. another special issue:
Du, F. (ed.) 2012. "Ecological Narratives on Grasslands in China: A People-Centred View", *Nomadic Peoples* 16(1).

5 See pages 55-56 of this Newsletter to read about my research topic.

6 This was a common concern expressed by townspeople; cf. Pirie, F. 2013. "The Limits of the State. Coercion and Consent in Chinese Tibet", *Journal of Asian Studies* 72; Yeh, E.T. 2010. "Restoring the grasslands?" *China Dialogue* (accessed online: http://tinyurl.com/restoregrasslands).

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10 On pastoralists moving to town and the process of urbanization, cf. Iselin, L. (forthcoming). *Mobile Technologien und nomadischer Raum: Motorisierung, Mobiltelefonie und Urbanisierung in Südamdo,* Osttibet. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

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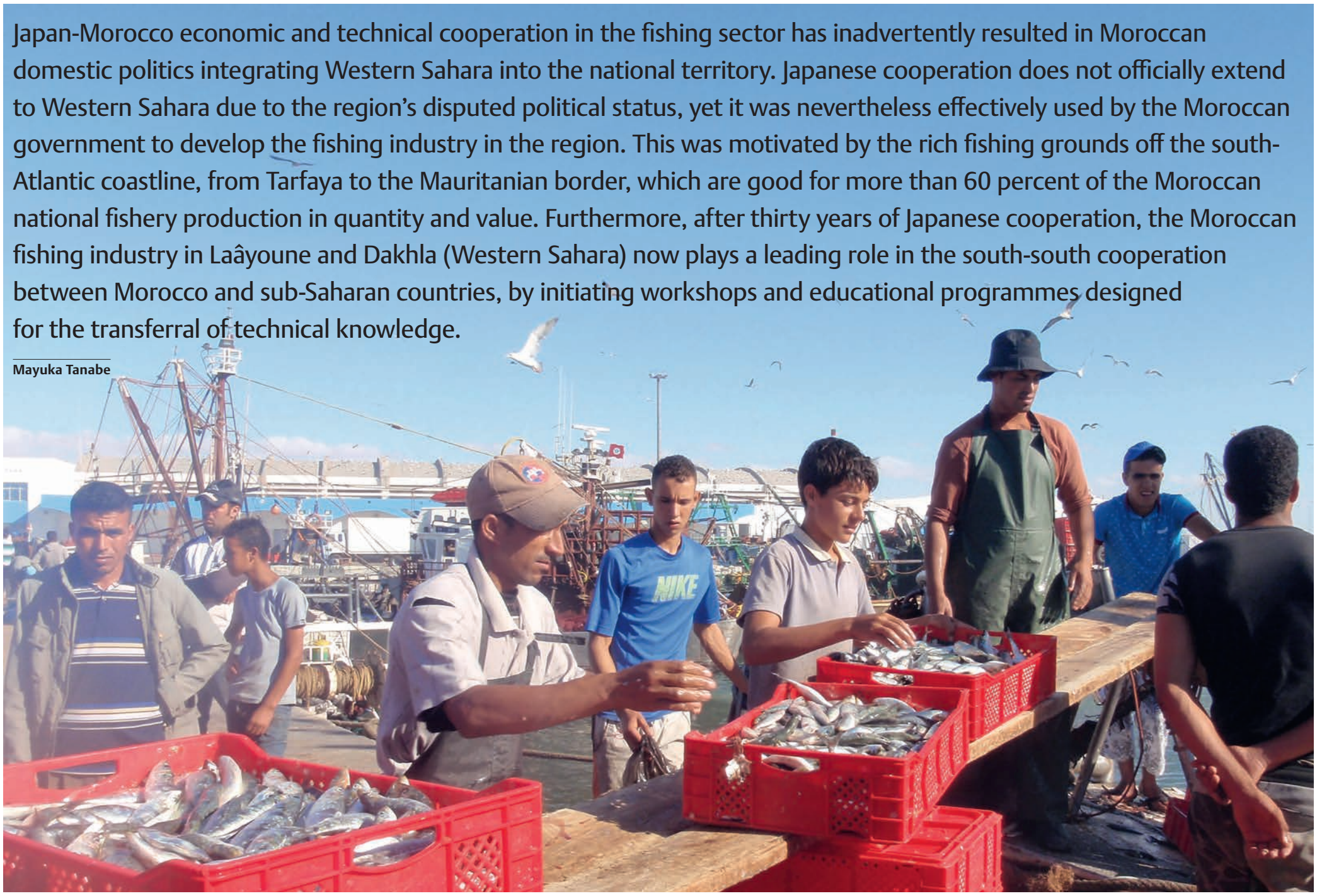
The Green March brings forth the desert treasures

Japan-Morocco economic and technical cooperation in the fishing sector has inadvertently resulted in Moroccan domestic politics integrating Western Sahara into the national territory. Japanese cooperation does not officially extend to Western Sahara due to the region's disputed political status, yet it was nevertheless effectively used by the Moroccan government to develop the fishing industry in the region. This was motivated by the rich fishing grounds off the south-Atlantic coastline, from Tarfaya to the Mauritanian border, which are good for more than 60 percent of the Moroccan national fishery production in quantity and value. Furthermore, after thirty years of Japanese cooperation, the Moroccan fishing industry in Laâyoune and Dakhla (Western Sahara) now plays a leading role in the south-south cooperation between Morocco and sub-Saharan countries, by initiating workshops and educational programmes designed for the transferral of technical knowledge.

Mayuka Tanabe



Above: Disembarkation of sardines at the port of Laâyoune (photo by author).

FISH MAKES UP HALF of all animal protein consumption in Japan, the highest rate in the world; the fishing industry has long been a vital part of economic and social life of the nation. Since the 1960s, however, Japan has had to start importing fisheries products (seafood) as a way to counter-balance the loss of domestic and distant-water production.[1] As reliance upon imported fisheries products intensified in the mid 1980s, cooperation with African and Oceanic countries was a necessary measure for the Japanese government in securing fisheries import while maintaining relationships through technical and economic cooperation.

The start of the Japanese-Moroccan cooperation was the fisheries agreement signed between the two countries in 1985, in which the Moroccan government allowed thirty Japanese high-sea vessels to fish tuna and bonito in their 200 miles offshores. Since then Morocco has also supported Japan's position at ICCAT Madrid (concerning tuna fishing), with regards to the Washington Treaty (International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling 1956), and the IWC (International Whaling Commission). In short, Japanese fisheries diplomacy in Morocco has had three main objectives: 1) securing food import for the Japanese nation; 2) acquiring rights for their vessels to fish off the Moroccan Atlantic shores; 3) acquiring political allies to defend their position on whaling and tuna fishing in the global context. So far the two countries have built a mutually beneficial relation, in terms of strengthening their political and economic influences in the African continent and beyond.

Western Sahara: the core of the Moroccan fishing industry

In November 1975 hundreds of thousands of Moroccans crossed their southern border into Spanish Sahara in the strategic mass demonstration known as 'the Green March'. Accompanied by 20,000 troops, the event forced Spain to relinquish its power over the disputed territory. Although Morocco at first received very little resistance, it eventually became embroiled in a sixteen-year war with the Saharawi Polisario Front, representing some of the indigenous population, until a 1991 UN ceasefire. Morocco has secured *de facto* control of much of the region (including the coast) since then. The development of the fishing industry in this region was one of the important Moroccan policies to create income opportunities for both Moroccan immigrants coming from the north of Tarfaya and also for the local Saharawi groups, in view of total annexation of Western Sahara to Morocco by means of economic integration.

In light of this political context, Japan's financial and technical support has played an indirect but significant role. 2015 marked the thirtieth anniversary of the start of the cooperation between Japan and Morocco, which began with a bilateral agreement on marine fishing in 1985. Japan-Morocco relations are characterised by the two countries' heavy economic reliance on import and export of fishery products. Morocco is the top exporter of fishery products in Africa. As a leading foreign exchange earner, accounting for 56 percent of agricultural and 16 percent of total exports, the fishing industry is an important economic sector of Morocco with an inextricable connection to Asia, Africa and the European Union.[2] Due to the growing demand for fisheries products, not only from Spain, Portugal and Japan, but also from Russia and China, the marine species off the Mediterranean and Atlantic shores of Morocco proper have become endangered. Therefore, south-Atlantic fishing off the shores of Western Sahara (Laâyoune, Boujdour and Dakhla) is of utmost importance to the Moroccan fishing industry; the Western Saharan coastal area accounts for approximately 50 percent (in quantity) of Morocco's annual production of more than 1,000,000 ton. Furthermore, the types of fish caught in this region mainly consist of cephalopods (such as octopus and squids) and other deep-sea fish, which sell at a three or four times higher price than the sardines and small pelagic fish caught in Morocco proper. In 2013, the fish captured along the Western Saharan coast accounted for 64 percent of the Moroccan national production in value.[3]

Although the JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) is not directly active in the development of Western Sahara, its models have nevertheless been locally adopted and implemented, exemplified by the highly computerised fish market, 'the Hall of Fish' *(la halle au poisson)* in the port of Laâyoune. Currently the ports of Laâyoune and Dakhla boast the most advanced levels of hygiene, traceability, inspection, and price control in the entire African continent, and strictly comply with the European Union's import standards.

Since the 1980s, the Moroccan fishing sector has been profoundly transformed by Japanese cooperation. The development of infrastructure, fishing techniques and human resources has made Morocco less dependent on Europe and has increased its negotiating power with regard to fisheries agreements. Furthermore, the development of the artisanal fishing sector has contributed to a new pattern of internal migration of fishermen (see below), and has also helped them acquire new techniques and hygiene standards, making their products competitive in the international market.

However, Japanese cooperation has also had a profound effect on the integration process of Western Sahara into Moroccan territory. It started with the building of the port in Agadir in the mid-1980s, which initially served as a supply base for the Moroccan tanks rolling into Western Sahara for the war against the Polisario. Eventually the Moroccan government utilised the Japanese ODA (Official Development Assistance) to build a dock for high-sea vessels, which became a national disembarkation point for the ships fishing off the shores of Laâyoune and Dakhla. The Japanese cooperation served as the foundation for the Moroccan government's construction of the most advanced ports and fishery facilities in Western Sahara, which has became the undeniable centre of Morocco's fishing industry.

The Moroccanisation of the fishing sector

The cooperation between Japan and Morocco officially started in 1985, at the request of the Moroccan government for help to 'Moroccanise' the professional workforce in the fishing sector, which had long been dominated by foreigners. Prior to this time, the Moroccan domestic fishing sector had no training institutions or fishing ports with docks; it lacked the necessary infrastructure for disembarkation and had no freezing facilities. Morocco was merely making its fishing grounds available to the European Union and was missing out on a significant amount of foreign currency.

In order to Moroccanise its high-sea captains and trawlers, and to provide practical education for its mariners, the first EPM *(École des Pêches Maritimes)* was established in Agadir with JICA's non-refundable financial and technical support. The EPM's educational programme was supported by the UN's FAO, and the curriculum was based on the French system. JICA sent several experts to teach navigational techniques. By 2000, thanks to these educational efforts, all the high-sea and inshore captains and mariners were Moroccan nationals. The EPM Agadir was upgraded to ISPM *(Institut Supérieur des Pêches Maritimes)* in 2006. Currently there are five ITPM *(Institut de la Technologie des Pêches*

Japanese cooperation and Morocco's south-Atlantic fishing

Maritimes), eight CQPMs *(Centre de la Qualification des Pêches Maritimes),* and one ISPM in the coastal cities of Morocco.

The second initiative by the Japanese-Moroccan cooperation, was to build the INRH *(Institut de la Recherche Halieutique)* headquarters in Casablanca, a fisheries research centre that promotes diversification of production and aquaculture, which controls the number of vessels in port and their fishing allowances. For example, every year (since 1989) they set a 'biological rest' period for octopus fishing, so as to protect the animals during their breeding season.

The third important pillar of the cooperation, also vital to Moroccan politics with regard to Western Sahara, was to provide infrastructure for artisanal fishermen and their small-scale fishing activities. Historically, Moroccan artisanal fishermen sold their catch to intermediaries *(mareyeurs)*, who bought at very low prices and who in return delivered the necessary provisions such as gasoline or ice, since the fishermen mostly had quite solitary working and living conditions. This project aimed to break this system of isolation. It set about building a fishing industry in Agadir, with docks and other substantial infrastructure. In order to sedentarise the artisanal fishermen, the first fishing village *(village de pêcheurs, VDP)* was built in Imessouane in 1996, on the Atlantic coast 99km north of Agadir, with the Japanese aid of 63 million Moroccan dirhams. The project was designed to improve the living and working conditions of 200 artisanal fishermen on the site; to advance the safety of accessing and navigating the sea for 60 small scale boats; and to enhance the conservation and marketing of fish. The community based approach included the creation of a cooperative, which manages fishing activities and the general needs of everyday life, such as the distribution of gasoline, the mosque and meeting rooms for education. Freezing facilities, and the knowledge of how to fabricate ice, are crucial elements in raising the quality and value of merchandise. Following suit, three more VDPs were created on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts: Cala Iris (1996), Souiria Q'dima (1998-1999) and Sidi Hsaine (2002-2003). Later, a number of unloading points, PDA *(Point de Débarquement Aménagé)*, similar to VDPs but without ports, were created. The Moroccan government built a total of 30 PDAs up and down the coast, mostly in the Western Sahara.

The 'sedentarisation' of villagers in Imessouane was partially successful; their revenue went up significantly and many benefited from insurance (CNSS, *Casse Nationale de la Sécurité Sociale)*. The fishermen come to the VDP as early as 4am in the morning to prepare their materials, and return to their home villages after work. Their wives engage in other economic activities, such as collecting mussels, herding and cultivating Argan trees. They also participate in literacy programmes at the mosque. Some of the fishermen have indicated some technical problems at the port, preventing them from fishing during the winter months. The port of Imessouane is indeed only usable for five to six months, during the summer and autumn.

As a result, about 30 percent of the young villagers in the Agadir region migrate south to Dakhla, Tan Tan, Boujdour and other areas during winter months (December to February), which is also the season of octopus fishing. Octopus is abundant in the Western Saharan waters, and fetch higher prices than other products. Migrants from Imessouane generally build temporary barracks near the disembarkation sites, and find work with local boat owners.

Before 2000, Laâyoune and Dakhla lay in an anarchical territory where Moroccans and foreigners would randomly catch octopus and other marine species and then disembark at the Spanish port of Las Palmas in the Canary Islands. After the building of the modern ports and PDAs, the central state encouraged the local Saharawi people to work in fishing. The project 'Sakia El Hamra' was implemented in 2011, which aimed to absorb the young indigenous population into the fishing sector, by giving them education and offering 250 boats (one for six persons) for free, equipped with fishing tools. However, the project to provide work for the indigenous population simply resulted in more work performed by migrants from Morocco proper, since many of the locals rented out or sold their boats and did not actually work themselves. Some of the migrants from the north of Tarfaya (Agadir, Essaouira, Safi, El Jadida, Marrakech, etc.) are now settled in the region, with sufficient income to buy a house and educate their children, whereas others leave their families in the home villages and engage in seasonal labour.

Below: Imessouane: the first fishing village (VDP) created by Japanese cooperation (photo by author).

South-south cooperation

The current advanced state of the Moroccan fishing industry is the most successful example of the Japanese fisheries policies in Africa. After 30 years of Japanese cooperation in the Moroccan fishing sector, involving the non-refundable annual aid of 500 million yen (4.42 million euros), Morocco has grown to possess a solid infrastructure and expertise in the fishing sector. What characterises the Japanese cooperation most is the 'win-win relation', guided by the principle to help build up the national economy of the African country, as opposed to mere exploitation of resources. As a result, Morocco now functions as mediator of technical knowledge transferral, from Japan to countries in sub-Saharan Africa, referred to as 'south-south cooperation'.

In March 2016, the 27th edition of the Crans Montana Forum took place in Dakhla, with the theme 'Africa and the South-South Cooperation - Toward a better Governance for a sustainable Economic & Social Development', reinforcing Dakhla's leading position not only in the national fishing industry, but also in the south-south cooperation. More than 1000 participants from 130 countries were present, including African and European entrepreneurs looking for business opportunities in Western Sahara. By choosing the city of Dakhla as a venue for the forum, the Moroccan government intended to showcase the advanced level of its fishing industry and economic activities, and the impact on the sub-Saharan African countries' development through regional cooperation.

The strong relationship between Morocco and Francophone Africa dates back to the time of late king Hassan II, who sent several political advisors and made significant investments in various sectors such as banking, telecommunication and insurance in Gabon, Guinea, Benin, Senegal, Comoro and Madagascar. The south-south cooperation in the fisheries sector is aimed at further solidifying Morocco's economic and political influence in West Africa.

Conclusion

Japanese financial and technical support to Morocco's fishing industry has not only led to unbelievable development and growth – turning it from a lawless, artisanal and unproductive sector, into a high-tech and profitable industry – but the cooperation has also had an indirect effect on internal politics concerning the incorporation of Western Sahara. In a win-win situation, Japan benefits from Morocco's fisheries products: the octopus collected in Dakhla alone constitute 40-60 percent of the Japanese market demand.

On 6 November 2015, the Moroccan nation celebrated their 40th anniversary of the Green March; like a swarm of bees they eventually extracted treasures from the desolate desert landscape. With the abundance of fishing resources, Western Sahara has become an integral part of the Moroccan economy, attracting migrants and foreign investors who, in so doing, recognise the region as Moroccan territory. Evidently, for the Moroccan government and its people, the Green March has no end.

Mayuka Tanabe, is a Fellow at the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden; and a Postdoctoral researcher (anthropologist) at the Institut des Mondes Africains/École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris. Her research *The cultural impact of Japanese-Moroccan cooperation in the fishing industry* is funded by the Canon Foundation in Europe (mayuka_tanabe@hotmail.com).

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The Leshan Giant Buddha Scenic Area

The various stakeholders of a heritage site will commonly appreciate it for different reasons; sometimes to such an extent that conflict and contestation occurs. This is the case at the World Heritage site *Leshan Giant Buddha Scenic Area,* which is not only a holy place for the Maitreya faith in China, but also a very popular tourist destination.

Xiaomei ZHAO

The *Leshan Giant Buddha Scenic Area* (LGBSA) in China's Sichuan Province is a sacred site for the Maitreya faith, the main belief of the local people. It is a world heritage site (WHS) that was inscribed in 1996, together with the adjacent *Mount Emei Scenic Area* (MESA). At 71 metres high, the Giant Buddha is the largest Buddha statue in the world. The LGBSA is located across the river from the ancient city of Leshan, and includes a number of important protected cultural monuments in a setting of great natural beauty.

The Giant Buddha was carved out of a hillside in the 8th century, and overlooks the junction of three rivers (fig. 1). Lingyun Temple (fig. 2) stands on the cliff above the Buddha; it was first built in the 7th century, but destroyed twice between the 13th and 17th centuries. Its present structure is from the early *Qing Dynasty* (1644-1911). The monks offer Buddhist services to, mainly, pilgrims who visit on special occasions each year (fig. 3). Other significant cultural structures in the area include *Mahao Crag* (fig. 4), a collection of over 500 tombs originating from the 1st to 4th centuries, and *Wuyou Temple,* an important place of worship for local Buddhists.

Incredibly, there is also a theme park called *Oriental Buddha Park (OBP),* situated right in the middle of this WHS, between the *Giant Buddha* and *Mahao Crag.* It is run by a private travel company, which has reproduced hundreds of famous Buddha statues found all over the world. The theme park is the second biggest attraction in the area, after the Giant Buddha itself, and many tourists pay to enter the park rather than visit other zones for free (or less). They are likely misled by all the advertising and the theme park's obvious presence.

Conflict between local communities and the MC

Like other sacred Buddhist sites in China, Linyun Temple and its Giant Buddha statue were once local facilities. They stood in beautiful surroundings, amongst a number of small settlements (see map), whose inhabitants would visit the temple for their daily prayers and other religious ceremonies. The local residents were fishermen and peasants; fishing the river and/or farming the land in the mountains. However, in the early 1990s, large numbers of locals were relocated, thereby losing their land. This decision to relocate was made and carried out by the *Management Committee* (MC) of LGBSA, established to take charge of the WHS application in 1996 and currently the executive of the LGBSA.[1] The committee's main concerns are the preservation of the *inscribed* cultural heritage and the investment in tourist services to bring money to the area, rather than the personal needs of the local people.

Bizijie is a community of 1244 households, located right at the main entrance of the LGBSA. Its name literally means 'comb street', indicating its original layout that is typical for a traditional Chinese village: a main street with branching alleys. The village used to be bigger, but many residents were relocated. The compensation was very low, and certainly insufficient. Those who remained lost their farmland and had to turn to other ways to make money, such as tourist services like snack bars, restaurants and souvenir shops. The revenue was at first not bad because of the village's prime location at the entrance of the WHS area, but in 2004 a travel agency was established, under the supervision of the MC, which monopolised the local tourist business and isolated *Bizijie* from the tourist route by building blocks in the middle of the road between the community and the Scenic Area. Even though the blocks were dismantled a few days later, the conflict had taken hold and the locals lost their trust in the MC.[2] Most of the remaining residents gave up and moved out of the area, leaving all tourist business to be run by outsiders with little to no knowledge of local history, and who are not even Buddhists.

Another example of conflict between the MC and locals has taken place at the village *Yucun*. Yucun literally means 'fishing village'; its 40 households used to make a living by fishing the rivers. Before the 1990s, all visitors to the Giant Buddha arrived by boat and walked through the village to the statue. However, in the 1990s the MC decided to reconstruct the village, and temporarily moved the inhabitants to *Diaoyutai*. They were promised they could soon return, yet this has still not been made possible. Currently Yucun is no longer a settlement, but just a street with restaurants, tea houses and souvenir shops. To be fair, the owners of these establishments are amongst the original inhabitants, but business is disappointing. The route to the Scenic Area has been diverted and tourists no longer pass through Yucan on their way to the Giant Buddha. The revenue is no more than basic living expenses, as one of the owners told us.

These are not the only examples in the area of people who have been forced to move. Many more have lost their land due to land expropriation by the MC. The compensation is minimal and they have not been given priority to employment by MC's travel agency, even though most positions are non-technical and low-paid, such as cleaners and guards. Most of the young people have had to find work in other towns and cities. Ironically, the private travel agency running the Oriental Buddha Park is regarded in a more positive light by most locals. The OBP agency has also expropriated some farmland and has relocated residents, but it pays a higher compensation, many of the relocated people are hired by the travel agency afterwards, and all the residents get pension insurance – the three main concerns of relocation are much better dealt with by the OBP agency than by the Heritage MC.

Fig. 1 (above): Giant Buddha with a view from the river (photo by Yue JIA in 2013).

Fig. 2 (below left): The gate of Linyun Temple (photo by Yue JIA in 2013).

Fig. 3 (below right): Buddhist service at Linyun Temple (photo by Yue JIA in 2013).

Contestation among the stakeholders

Buddhist sanctuary or touristic destination?

The Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the LGBSA,[3] stated by UNESCO, lies in the unique landscape at the confluence of three rivers, the technique of constructing the Giant Buddha, and the testimony of the historical development of the Maitreya faith in China. The inscription of World Heritage Site attracts an immense amount of attention. In the questionnaire,[4] 93% of the interviewees know of the site, though only 11% have been there. The number of visitors has been increasing steadily, reaching 3 million in 2012. However, the tourism boom seems to be overwhelming the sacredness of this Buddhist site.[5]

There are two temples at LGBSA, *Lingyun* and *Wuyou*, where religious services are offered by the same group of monks. Both temples used to be thriving and bustling on the 1st and 15th day of each month when hundreds of locals came to light incense and to pray. The temples have different users now, mainly because of their respective locations. Locals only go to Wuyou Temple, as an entry fee is charged at Linyun. Linyun is always full of tourists whose main destination is the Giant Buddha. Most visitors offer incense, even though they are not necessarily devout followers, and many pilgrims are attracted by the reputation of the temple. The monks thus benefit from the fame of the World Heritage Site, and would now like to enlarge their temples and improve their living and work conditions. However, their plan has been refused by the MC, as the temples are important features of the WHS, situated right in the middle of the Scenic Area, where new construction is forbidden. In this case it seems that heritage protection is being given priority over religious demands, even though the religion is essential for the heritage value. However, the MC's consideration may in fact lie with wanting to follow the WHS 'rules', as the inscription brings with it tourism and income for the local economy.

Based on the outcome of the questionnaire,[6] the visitors' appreciation of this heritage site is quite ambiguous. They agree with the OUV of the area, yet most visitors fail to see or understand the many cultural and historic aspects of the site. Their schedules are often tight, and they are commonly given just half a day by the travel agency to explore the Scenic Area. The main attraction is the 'hugeness' of the Giant Buddha, and the impressive landscape, yet little to no attention is given to understanding the history of the Maitreya faith or experiencing the local culture. The fact that the average tourist is denied the full experience of local religious performances and daily activities, potentially impairs their better understanding of the heritage values of the World Heritage Site.

Whose heritage?

There are different stakeholders of the Leshan Giant Buddha Scenic Area, dividable into several groups according to relation to, and main concern with, the heritage site (table 1 below). Their demands often conflict with one another.

Besides functioning as an authority, with economic growth as its primary task, the MC is also guided and limited in its actions and policies by the official OUV. The Outstanding Universal Values need to be met before being inscribed on the World Heritage List; the 6 criteria for 'cultural heritage' have been determined by UNESCO and its advisory institutes. Although it's an open framework, the OUV are still defined by the authorities, who have clearly given priority to the on site 'monuments', with less concern for stakeholders, their understanding of the heritage site, and their demands. It is indeed common at WHS, especially at living heritage sites of significant religious value such as the LGBSA, that the tangible heritage (mainly monuments and buildings) is the only object of conservation and periodic monitoring by international authorities, while the associated intangible traditions and beliefs, which have close links with their stakeholders, are often neglected.

The LGBSA has been valued as a masterpiece of great originality and ingenuity (criterion iv) and as directly associated with the living tradition of Buddhism (criterion vi). In direct accordance with WHS rules, the MC only takes great care of the various inscribed heritage elements on the site, rather than the integral development of the whole heritage site.

The Giant Buddha and its associated religious facilities are the main monuments, and are considered to be the main touristic resources. The problem is that the MC fails to find other ways than heritage tourism to develop the area; other local resources (such as the local culture and surrounding natural landscape) are out-performed by the main monuments, and have little significance for the MC development plans. The local belief, which is an indispensable part of this Buddhist site, is given little attention simply because it isn't able to bring in money.

The MC has worked hard to ensure no changes are made to the monuments, thus safeguarding the tourism business, even though the changes could in fact revitalize the religion. The local people are given even less concern. The Scenic Area used to be their living space, and they are the most able to interpret the heritage values of their Maitreya faith. Yet the conservation approach in use is certainly not human-based, and serves neither as a way to continue the local beliefs, nor to enrich people's lives, even though the heritage site used to be all theirs, before becoming universal 'heritage'.

Xiaomei ZHAO, lecturer at Fudan University, affiliated researcher at Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, and research fellow at IIAS. Her research interests include conservation of built heritage, heritage management and architectural history (zhaoxiaomei@fudan.edu.cn).

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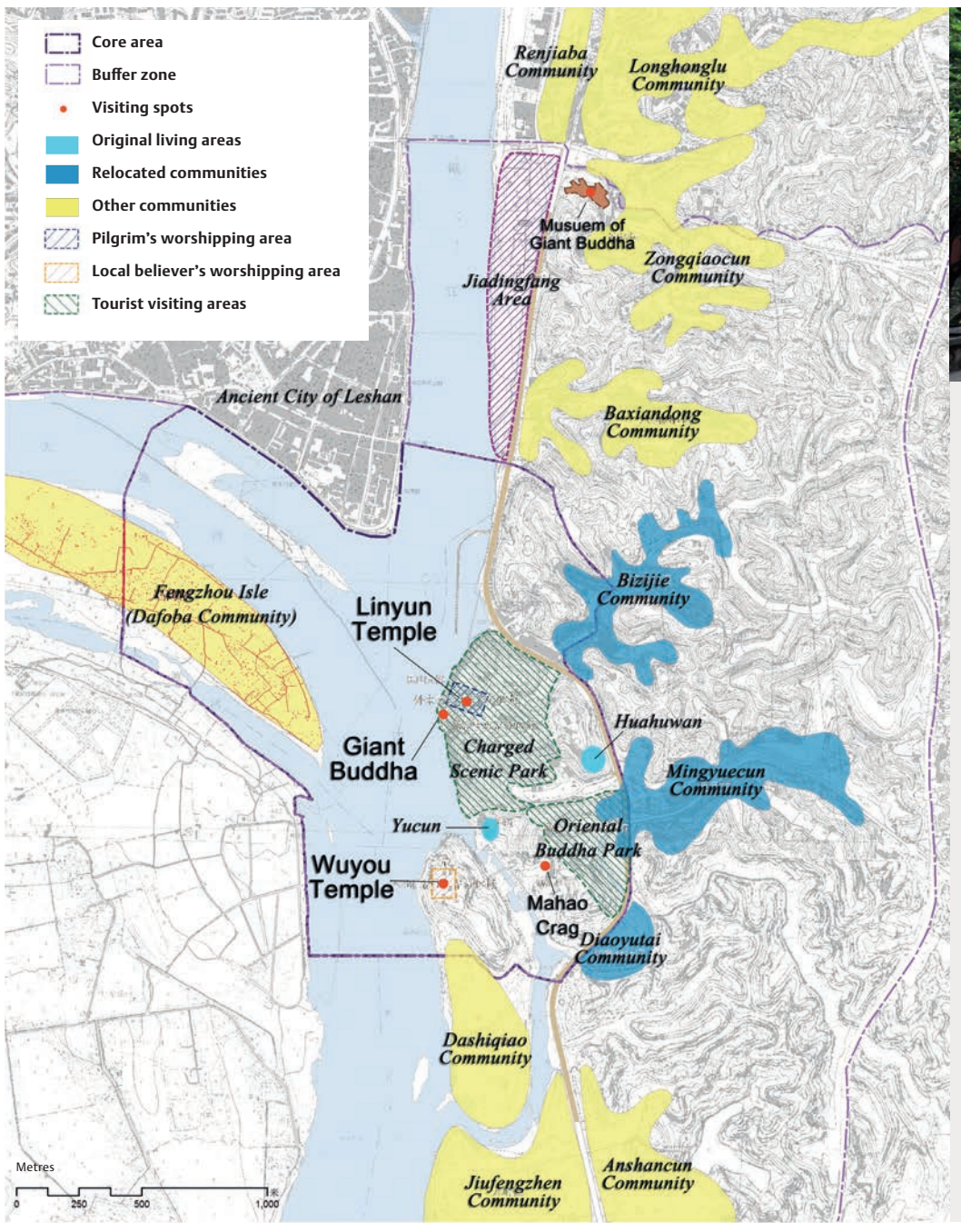
6 86 valid questionnaires have been issued at the different locations of the LGBSA. The questionnaire was designed and carried out by the author and her team working on the Management Plan of LGBSA in August 2013.



Map (below): Local communities, worshipping areas and touristic attractions at the WHS of LGBSA (drawn by the CHCC team working on the Management Plan of LGBSA in 2013).

Fig. 4 (below right): Mahao Crag (photo by Yue JIA in 2013).

Table 1: Stakeholders of the Leshan Giant Buddha Scenic Area

Group	Relation to heritage site	Stakeholders	Main concerns
Executive	Administration	LGBSA Management Committee	Economic growth based on heritage management
Tourism	Tourist services	Leshan Giant Buddha Industrial Co., Ltd	Profit, under MC supervision
		Oriental Buddha Park Travel Company	Investment and profit based on the heritage resource
		Private tourist business owner	Benefit from private business based on the heritage resource
Local communities	On site; used to/currently living off local resources	The communities living in and around the site	Survival, employment and better living conditions
Buddhists	Worshipping and/or providing religious services at the site	Local believers	Bigger and improved ceremony area and religious services
		Monks of Linyun and Wuyou Temples	
		Pilgrims	
Visitors	Visiting the scenic area	Tourists	Appreciation of the heritage site

Social protection and regional migration governance

Access to social security rights and their portability for migrant workers is emerging as a legal dilemma. The urgency of this topic was emphasized in the broader framework of discussions that took place during the ASIA-EU People's Forum (AEPF) held in Ulaan Baatar from 4 to 6 July 2016. 750 participants from civil society, academia and parliaments from 42 countries had a fruitful meeting, under the main theme 'Building New Solidarities: Working for Inclusive, Just and Equal Alternatives in Asia and Europe', which led to the adoption of the 'AEPF11 Final Declaration' submitted to the 11th Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Summit. As emphasized by Tina Ebro, who represented the International Organizing Committee, "we met at a time of growing inequalities, injustices and turmoil world-wide. There was a strong consensus at AEPF11 that the dominant development approach over the last decades – based around deregulation of markets, trade liberalisation, the privatisation of essential services and resources – has failed to meet peoples' needs and rights, and contributed to climate change with its catastrophic consequences".

Elisa Fornalé

THE DIFFICULTIES for migrant workers in accessing social protection can lead to greater vulnerability and discriminatory treatment in the exercise of their rights. In response to this situation, the 'Final Declaration' adopted by the AEPF recommended, in particular, that the ASEM member states "implement universal and comprehensive social protection, guaranteeing decent work, food, essential services and adequate income to vulnerable groups" and that they "respect the rights of migrants and refugees, and adopt legal and political frameworks which allow them safe movement."

Starting from this normative exhortation, the focus of this contribution will be to unpick the contemporary multilayered social protection regime to identify which 'layer' is in charge of migrants' social rights and in particular to explore the role currently played by regions and regional agreements. This contribution discusses two interrelated issues: the legal implications of emerging regional migration regimes for the social protection of migrant workers and how this level of analysis interacts with the global migration governance.

Above:
Migrant worker in textile mill, Thailand. Image reproduced under a creative commons license, courtesy of ILO/ Areeluck Phankhian on flickr.

Social protection, regionalism and migration

To make sense of this analysis, it is necessary to clarify the interaction between social protection, regionalism and migration. Social protection[1] is part of a progressive shift from the domestic domain to a composite multilevel legal environment that draws upon migration law, labour law and human rights law.[2] This shift is partly due to greater cross-border mobility and the emergence of new legal–political arenas, such as regional regimes, which have made the need to recognize the rights of non-citizens a supranational issue. Equally important is that the states no longer have sole responsibility for providing social justice and "the idea of social solidarity can no longer be treated as a national or local monopoly".[3] At the international level, the human right to social security was first recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (art. 22), a non-binding instrument, which inspired the establishment of a universal international system of social security.[4]

Social protection of migrant workers has been a central theme since the inception of the International Labour Organization (ILO): 31 Conventions and 24 Recommendations have been adopted to "make social protection a reality for all" (ILO, 2016). In the case of migrant workers, the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention n. 102 (art. 68); the Equality of Treatment (Accident Compensation) Convention n. 19; and the Equality of Treatment (Social Security) Convention 1962 n. 118, are relevant. Additionally, in 2012, the 'ILO Recommendation concerning National Floors of Social Protection (no. 202)' was adopted to guarantee social protection to "all residents".

The *portability* of social security can be defined as a corollary of this basic human right. In particular, the Maintenance of Social Security Rights Convention 1982 n. 157, and Recommendation n. 167, established an international system for the maintenance of acquired rights emphasizing the key role of bilateral and multilateral social security agreements. As stated by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in its comment no. 19 with respect to the specific issue of portability, "where non-nationals, including migrant workers, have contributed to a social security scheme, they should be able to benefit from that contribution or receive their contribution if they leave their country". With a view to facilitating the effective implementation and exercise of social protection at a domestic level, the member states have taken various measures at the bilateral and multilateral levels through which migrant workers can maintain and export the social security rights acquired in their country of employment.

From a historical perspective, the first instrument developed by member states to guarantee equal access to social protection for migrant workers was the bilateral social security agreement. These agreements originated in the nineteenth century as a response to several emerging issues related to the movement of foreign workers. At that time, the development of social security standards was very limited and these kinds of instruments facilitated only a minimum level of protection. After World War II, the issue of social security became increasingly relevant and the number of bilateral agreements concluded rose considerably.[5] Bilateral agree-

Some insights from ASEAN

ments are the preferred option for extending social security coverage, because the countries involved can easily reach an agreement on their content and the drafting process generally requires less diplomatic effort. At the same time, the diffusion of these agreements can put at risk the promotion of universal coverage; in fact Olivier raised the concern that this multitude of agreements can create "different entitlements for different categories of migrant workers".[6]

In parallel with the bilateral agreements, regionalism started to emerge as an efficient level of cooperation to ensure cross-border coordination and to influence bilateral and domestic measures. Regional social security agreements soon started to develop.[7] A significant example is the European–Mediterranean Agreements adopted between the European Union (EU) and Maghreb countries in the 1990s (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia) that address the protection of social rights for migrant workers working in the EU. In addition, in Africa, the Economic Community of West African States adopted the General Convention on Social Security in 1993, to guarantee the equality of treatment between national and non-national workers and the preservation of acquired rights. It is becoming clear that regions should play a paramount role in ensuring that migrants' social rights are respected. This can best be explained by examining the strong relationship between migration and regionalism.

Regional projects are developing in various geographical [8] contexts and "migration in the form of free circulation of people" is a key element in achieving real regional integration.[9] The implementation of these regimes is shifting the normative debate from a global scenario to a regional domain where the needs of people involved in the free movement dynamics can be better looked after, ensuring that their human rights and social needs are met and overcoming the nationalist perspective by generating comprehensive regulations.

The European experience revealed the challenges and the complexities of this issue. It has been identified as a best practice example of how to overcome the fragmented scenario that results from the simultaneous existence of several bilateral agreements and to establish a more consistent regulatory framework. This framework includes the protection of social security rights of third-country nationals.[10] It is increasingly clear that "constitutional commitment to respect for human dignity and 'market freedoms' (e.g. free movement of workers and their families) may require legal protection of 'positive liberties' by means of social rights (e.g. to education, health protection) in order to empower individuals to develop their 'human capacities' autonomously".[11]

To test this idea of the advantages of linking regionalism, migration and social protection, I would like to introduce some insights from the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). These insights will be used in an attempt to determine whether the regional layer has a major role in increasing access to social rights by facilitating, for instance, the adoption of social security agreements or whether states will opt for new forms of unilateralism to deal with contemporary legal gaps.

Intra-ASEAN mobility and access to social protection

When ASEAN was established in 1967 by means of the Bangkok Declaration (the so-called ASEAN Declaration), its focus was primarily on promoting stability and economic development in the region. There was no clear framework to deal with intra-regional mobility. The two founding principles were "non-intervention at a national level" and "a consensus to clearly avoid any delegation of sovereignty".

The ASEAN regional project was developed around three pillars, namely the ASEAN Political-Security Community, the ASEAN Economic Community and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community. The ASEAN Economic Community has contributed to the 'mobility agenda' by implementing policies allowing the movement of highly skilled migrant workers. Meanwhile, ASEAN's socio-cultural and political communities have addressed the mobility of low-skilled or irregular migrants, in particular, with respect to issues such as the protection of migrant workers.

Below: A Thai vendor sells produce to Cambodian migrant workers. Image reproduced under a creative commons license, courtesy of ILO/Areeluck Phankhian on flickr.

Access to social protection for migrant workers is a complex issue in the region and it is destined to become a priority in the establishment of the ASEAN community. First, several legislative barriers are present at national levels that affect the ability of individuals to gain full access to social benefits and *de facto* limit their equal treatment. For instance, they have to fulfil specific requirements, such as minimum length of residency or minimum contributions, to be entitled to social security benefits. Second, they are increasingly facing difficulties linked with absence of effective portability of acquired rights, which can affect their decision to return to their countries of origin. In fact, contrary to the practice of the majority of states worldwide, no bilateral social security agreements exist between ASEAN member states. Finally, the level of ratification of international standards is not uniform and this results in a persistent lack of adequate instruments or appropriate enforcement mechanisms that puts the "greater integration of the ASEAN region" at risk.[12]

Regionalising social protection for migrant workers in ASEAN?

The ongoing research project on Regional Migration Governance (R_emigra) explores whether ASEAN regional project can potentially improve the current underdeveloped scenario advancing in the idea of a "socially integrated region".[13]

Driven by the intention to safeguard the fundamental human rights of migrant workers, the ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers adopted in 2007 establishes that a comprehensive social security system needs to be implemented progressively as an indispensable precondition for ensuring their integration. This Declaration is inspired by international human rights instruments and it is conceived not as a binding treaty but as a common standard to be achieved by the ASEAN member states to underpin the social rights of migrant workers. This understanding of social protection is supported by the overall importance of fostering the social protection system at a domestic level, in particular the adoption of regional standards.[14]

The normative process in this context evolved with the adoption of the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint, adopted in 2009,[15] and with the recent adoption of the ASEAN Declaration on Strengthening Social Protection in 2013. This non-binding instrument recognizes that "everyone at risk, migrant workers and other vulnerable groups, are entitled to have equitable access to social protection that is a basic human right" and this requires the development of appropriate tools, such as the establishment of "universal health coverage". These steps paved the way for ASEAN member states to commit to developing specific measures and to increasing the capacity to expand the coverage of social protection to strengthen ASEAN's economic integration. Indeed, due to the non-ratification and implementation of international standards or social security agreements, a major emphasis on the crucial role of regionalism is imperative.

This situation can be illustrated with reference to progressive implementation of the ASEAN Declaration on Strengthening Social Protection. This requires the drafting at domestic level by each ASEAN member state of new plans of action on "common social protection gaps and concrete actions".[16] This will lead to the definition of national SPFs (social protection floors; a set of basic guarantees) and more comprehensive social security systems. In this regional effort, the member states will attempt to foster the implementation of the new ILO Recommendation n. 202 in the four sectors identified: access to essential health care, to basic income security for children, to basic income security for persons of working age, and to basic security income for older persons. In particular, one SPF entitles all elderly people to social protection and countries will be fully responsible for developing national schemes for providing universal pension coverage. It is noteworthy that many citizens in Asia currently receive no, or very low, pensions.

The project of deploying regional migration governance as a meaningful tool to implement international human rights standards at the domestic level could reveal this to be an effective framework, even though criticism can be raised about the potential delays and challenges in the implementation of regional norms at the national level. This cannot invalidate its relevance. Thus, given the slow progress of unilateral frameworks, it has the potential to capture and to strengthen the global-domestic dialogue by achieving greater social integration. In fact, this normative process will facilitate the adoption at the domestic level of new regulations in line with the content of the ILO standards through fostering the implementation of a regional tool. And it can facilitate the future adoption of new bilateral or multilateral agreements to improve cooperation between countries and facilitate the portability of social security benefits, an emerging legal imperative.

As remarked by Betts: "at the moment, social contracts remain state-centric and ill-adapted to a transnational world. Education, health care, pensions and taxation systems remain rigidly fixed to particular states and territories. Over time, there will be a need to conceive of ways in which the provision of social services can be adapted to be mobile across international borders in a transnational world".[17]

Conclusion

Acknowledgement of the relationship between migrant workers' access to social protection and regionalism invites an exploration of the potential and limits of regional frameworks for identifying mechanisms to increase the protection of the human rights of migrant workers. Domestic law, in particular in the ASEAN context, has thus far proven limited as a tool for framing adequate responses, not only because of the scarcity of resources, but also because of the difficulty in utilizing international law.

The case for supporting regional migration governance as a meaningful layer on which to meet the human rights needs of cross-border migrant workers is strengthened by the reality of the current situation in ASEAN. The relationships and processes of ASEAN's members offer a unique platform to translate into practice the content of international instruments and to adopt new measures. Taking regionalism as the 'operational basis' for overcoming persistent limits of social protection may be a better way to address the need to develop a coherent and solid social protection floor and to enable people to move freely across borders.

Elisa Fornalé is Marie Curie Researcher at the Center for Migration Law, Radboud University (e.fornale@jur.ru.nl).

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1 This article uses social 'protection' and social 'security' interchangeably. With respect to social protection, the article uses the definition adopted by the International Labour Office: "interchangeable with social security; as protection provided by social security in case of social risks and needs."(ILO, 2011). The ILO defines social protection as policy measures to protect its members against social and economic distress that would be caused by the absence or reduction of income due to different causes "(sickness, maternity, unemployment injury, unemployment, disability, old age, and death of the breadwinner); the provision of health care; and the provision of benefits for families with children".

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13 See supra Deacon.

14 See the ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint, 2007.

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Heritage and political change in Indonesia

Adrian Perkasa, my friend and colleague from Airlangga University, drove a circuitous route, avoiding trucks, chickens and rice drying on the road, on our way to the shrine known locally as *Watu Ombo*. As occurred at all of the small shrines near villages, the Caretaker *(Juru Pelihara)* appeared a few minutes after we arrived to see what we were doing and chat about the place his family had looked after for three generations. It was the day after the monthly special day on the Javanese calendar *(Malam Jumat Legi)* when many Javanese people visit shrines, and the offerings from the night before were evident. The Caretaker had also gathered a set of fourteenth century foundation stones from the Majapahit kingdom, excavated by traditional brick makers, that he was keeping on site. There were large trees within the shrine's compound and other residents were sitting around chatting or keeping an eye on their rice drying in the parking lot.

Tod Jones

THE MANAGEMENT and spatial organisation of *Watu Ombo* differs considerably from the larger sites that were reconstructed in the 1980s and 1990s. These iconic sites are the product of large state investments fuelled by the success of Borobudur, the nationalist importance of the Majapahit as the precursor of the Indonesian nation, and the growth of oil prices. Take, for instance, *Bajang Ratu* (fig.1). The structure, an entrance gate to a compound, is located in the middle of a European style garden with little shade. While indeed monumental and impressive, the lack of shade, seating and other activities in the surrounding park lessens the utility of the site for residents, and visitors tend to stay for short periods where they enter the park, take pictures of the gate, walk briefly around the garden before returning to their car or bus, and heading to the similarly organised *Candi Tikus*. Paid staff maintain the site during opening hours, and it is locked at night. Until the mid-1990s, this site was like *Watu Ombo* before graves and homes were relocated to make way for the park.

While my comparison highlights the richness of Indonesians' relationships with heritage and how they exist in tension with official management practices, there is no simple binary between expert and community sites and practices. Local people worked for years on the reconstruction of 'official' sites, becoming experts in such conservation work, not to mention the strong feelings that remain for these sites amongst residents. The state pays locals to maintain the 'community' sites and has done so since colonial times; local people work as gardeners and officials at the larger sites to service the busloads of visitors who stop for half an hour on their day trips to Trowulan. Furthermore, democratic Indonesia has an uneven heritage politics, where the shifts at higher levels (such as decisions at the national level or international funding) can have different implications and effects at the level of site management for different groups and in different locations. Below, I turn my attention to the drivers and complications of heritage politics in Indonesia, using examples drawn from contributors to a special issue on Indonesian heritage in *Inside Indonesia,* which I co-edited with Riwanto Tirtosudarmo earlier this year.[1]

Decentralising culture

The Suharto era command culture model of cultural management, while challenged by the rise of mass popular culture in the 1990s, began to break down in the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis and the resignation of Suharto in 1998.[2] Two shifts in particular were important. First, cultural policy was realigned from an affiliation with education to an affiliation with tourism.[3] Second and more importantly, cultural policy was one of a number of policy areas decentralised in 2002, devolving control of the cultural bureaucracy from the national to the provincial and district levels. While thousands of staff shifted from the national bureaucracy to the provincial and district bureaucracies, this did not include archaeological offices (*Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya and the Balai Konservasi Borobudur*) that remain centrally controlled from the Directorate of Culture and continue to manage archaeological sites. From an educational function, culture was aligned with the economic goals of tourism and regional development. District and provincial governments became more important to heritage planning and management, but have differing levels of commitment and capabilities. Furthermore, heritage legislation reform, which passed parliament in 2010, has stalled due to the absence of implementing legislation, leaving heritage management frameworks weak and uncertain.

Banten Lama in particular has struggled to find a balance between different interests in the contemporary period.[4] Banten Lama was home to an Islamic sultanate in the sixteenth century that became an important religious centre for the spread of Islam across Java, and its Grand Mosque (*Masjid Agung*) is now the centrepiece of a diverse heritage precinct that attracts thousands of visitors annually (fig. 2). However, divisions within the leadership of Masjid Agung has led to uncertain decision making, from conservation work on the mosque to the location of the mosque entry gates and the stalls of petty traders. This division makes site planning and management difficult for Banten City. The last local regulations, passed in 1990, are not adequate for the number of visitors and complexity of the site. The uncertain heritage regulatory framework contributes to paralysis and bureaucratic unwillingness to work within a difficult situation, even when these issues are undermining both the experiences of visitors and the returns for locals.

Heritage in broader processes of spatial change

Considerations of heritage should take into account the effects of broader processes of spatial change. Trowulan, the previously mentioned location of the capital of the Majapahit kingdom, is located within an hour's drive from Surabaya on a major road. Although the population of Trowulan is just under 70,000, it is part of *Gerbangkertosusila* – the mega-region of 'Gresik Bangkalan Mojokerto Surabaya Sidoarjo Lamongan' that had a population of 9 million people in 2010. While Trowulan's red bricks have clearly been manufactured for hundreds of years, the urbanisation of this region has created an unprecedented demand for building materials. The remains of the Majapahit capital inhabit an area of approximately 90 square kilometres under contemporary structures and sugar cane fields. Traditional red brick construction removes the top one to two metres of top soil from a field that is rented from a farmer, making the traditional red brick manufacturers the most active excavators of Majapahit era artefacts. While this is near-impossible to prevent (even as part of a national heritage listing in 2013), my research with Adrian Perkasa indicates that the red brick manufacturers have relationships with Majapahit heritage and value the artefacts they find. The potential is there for engagement and interaction around their excavations to build new relationships between residents, researchers and Trowulan's underground capital.

Changing heritage management practices

The political climate in democratic Indonesia also has offered opportunities for civil society groups to push new heritage agendas. The Indonesian National Trust (*Badan Pelestarian Pusaka Indonesia* – BPPI) formed in 2004 from a network of city-based groups and individuals across Indonesia. Protests and actions by these groups, the World Monuments Fund, and the Save Trowulan resident group, prevented a steel factory that had been approved in 2013 by the archaeological bureau from being built in an area close to residential areas.[5] Changes within archaeology towards site management led in the early 2010s to a greater willingness to accommodate access to previously closed archaeological areas, in particular the smaller, less-visited sites.[6] This new access has driven both local activities, such as guiding tourists and local events, as well as new online groups, like Bol Brutu who use Facebook and WhatsApp to share photographs and news, to organise short and long trips for visiting heritage places, as well as other activities like exhibitions and recording local histories. However, these lower level activities still run into the issue of official heritage management. At the larger, more regulated heritage sites, local guides who are not officially registered cannot seek customers, and Bol Brutu cannot undertake their creative activities.

The entry of democratic politics has been beneficial to the cultural ecology of Indonesia and has enabled new coproductions of heritage through a more open approach to site management and more incentives for collaborations across different groups and levels of government. However, state heritage management could do more to support the cultural ecology, in particular through finalising the heritage legislation, encouraging further engagement with public archaeology in state archaeological institutions, and allowing even greater access to residents who want to seek inspiration and opportunities from access to state-managed heritage sites and objects. Denis Byrne has pointed out to us that most of the population of Asia seeks special connections and favours from their relationships to heritage objects and sites.[7] There are openings in Indonesia for heritage management to be relevant to the vast numbers of people who hold this understanding.

Tod Jones (T.Jones@curtin.edu.au) is a Senior Lecturer in Geography at Curtin University in Perth, Australia. His research interests are in Human Geography with a focus on heritage, cultural economics and cultural policy in Indonesia and Australia. His book, *Culture, Power and Authoritarianism in the Indonesian State: Cultural Policy across the Twentieth Century to the Reform Era* was published by Brill in 2013. Tod recently coedited an edition of Inside Indonesia with Riwanto Tirtosudarmo on contemporary heritage issues in Indonesia (www.insideindonesia.org/edition-123-jan-mar-2016).

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Fig. 1 (left): Bajang Ratu, Trowulan, East Java (photo by Tod Jones).

Fig. 2 (right): Masjid Agung, Banten Lama (photo by Tine Suartina).

Moving Cambodia

The Exhibition

In November 2015, the multi-media exhibition *Futurographies: Cambodia-USA-France,* curated by our students, opened at the Sheila C. Johnson Design Center at The New School, New York (www.newschool.edu/sjdc). In 2016, it travelled to Sa Sa Bassac Gallery in Phnom Penh (February) and to the Parsons Paris Gallery (April). The exhibition reflected almost five years of our research and teaching focused on migration, the poetics of urban transformation, the mobility of culture and commodities, and artistic practices in states of emergency.

Jaskiran Dhillon, Radhika Subramaniam and Miriam Ticktin

CAMBODIA HAS RECENTLY become a locus of inquiry, and its history and politics drew our diverse disciplinary approaches together. With the curatorial-ethnographic workshop that generated this exhibition, we hoped to ignite new insights for ourselves and for an interdisciplinary group of design and social science students through the collision of methodologies. In the conversation below, we reflect on our collaboration and the issues the project raised in the context of our ongoing work.

RS: How do you think our varied backgrounds influenced what we did?

JD: As a scholar and advocate committed to social transformation, I foreground the interconnections among flows of knowledge, capital, labor, power, and people and examine their implications for social movements. Since 2010, I have worked in Cambodia, which is an exemplary site for exploring such transnational exchanges – its political history is deeply intertwined with other Southeast Asian countries, with Europe because of French colonization, and with North America through the US bombing during the Vietnam war, and in general, because of international aid. Since I teach at a US institution, the relationship between Cambodia and the US is a launching point for my students to interrogate the politics around development and humanitarianism. I was really excited when the opportunity to translate some of this into a curatorial platform emerged in 2012-2013 through my collaboration with Radhika.

MT: My role was to bring to bear the relationship of Cambodia with France in shaping both historical and contemporary lives. This transformed our place of inquiry into a tri-local (Cambodia-US-France) space, bringing in imperial histories and diasporic presents, and how people, ideas and experiences move in relation to these. I had worked with undocumented immigrants in France, researching their relationship with French colonialism and racism, but I knew nothing about Cambodia.

RS: Our earlier project, which also culminated in an exhibition, was more bi-lateral. The exhibition coincided with 'Season of Cambodia', a festival of art and performance that took place across New York in April 2013. We were eager that it was not about a place far away, and that it was not only historical but also traceable in the present, such that we were all implicated. So we highlighted US involvement in Cambodia. Interestingly, The New School has a direct link to this history – it functioned as a regional hub for the 1970 student strike against Nixon's Cambodian incursion. Art and design students, at the time, shelved their thesis show to mount an anti-war exhibition called *My God! We're Losing a Great Country.* Jaskiran has also been immersing students in the Cambodian context for some time.

JD: Yes, I've been teaching 'Lang in Cambodia', an immersive summer program in Siem Reap. This interdisciplinary program aims to expand student learning of 'development' by collapsing the distance between its emergence as a discourse and the way it plays out as a social and political practice. It compels students, in a very visceral way, to think deeply about the kinds of transnational flows I referred to earlier.

Our three-way collaboration presented another attempt to engage with these questions, adding a new place and new methods. It was really generative to have Miriam's expertise on French colonialism, since it broadened everyone's thinking about how Cambodia has been produced as a 'developing' country in need of Western aid. But combining different methodologies was particularly challenging: leading students in intense ethnographic research in three different countries, and then asking them to translate this knowledge into an exhibit.

RS: I had two inroads; my work focuses on what I call 'cultures of catastrophe' informed by training in anthropology and performance studies. As the curator/director of The New School's galleries, I have over a decade's experience in art in the public domain. Despite this, the exhibition format was challenging for everyone, not just the social science students – how to make an argument visually and spatially that isn't reductive or merely illustrative and also open to the inevitable ambiguity of art? That was the real risk as an educator – instilling in the students critical, reflexive thinking about context and representation, while also encouraging an exuberant leap of faith into the realm of art where material and meaning might exceed one's framework. The students chose to split and juxtapose these strands in the exhibition with two intertwined timelines, one artistic, one historical. As a visual solution for an intractable disciplinary conjuncture, it was quite striking, and elicited vigorous discussion in the gallery. But the split also perpetuated the separations we were trying to work against. For an art gallery like Sa Sa Bassac, the historical timeline seemed extraneous or over-contextualizing the art; there, it was relegated to a handout rather than an interference on the wall. I understood the reasons, even the awkwardly academic quality of the timeline, but this was one of those stilted movements across disciplines that interested me – the inelegance of translations and mistranslations.

MT: On that, one of the key questions we faced was how to detect histories in the present. Where and how do we trace Cambodia in France and France in Cambodia? Our students wanted to use categories they are familiar with, i.e., identity. So, they asked, where are the Cambodian-French? How big are their communities, do they organize as a diaspora? In fact, our challenge was to trace these histories while being attentive to the mobility of conceptual categories themselves – not simply the mobility of people. Translation never results in sameness. In France, identity categories are not politically recognized in the same way as in the U.S, either by the state or the public. French theories of republican universalism suggest that, in the name of equality, one should keep identity (race, religion, ethnicity) in the private sphere, enabling one to claim equality in the public sphere. One exists as a citizen, not as a *particular* kind of citizen. Of course, there are many critiques of republicanism (to focus on race, this theory insists, would be to reproduce racisms; yet how does one tackle all-too-real racisms if there is no acknowledgement of race?), and while things are changing, this way of looking at the world underlies much of French society.

JD: One of the most interesting and challenging aspects of this project was stepping out of linear and causal perceptions of the linkages among people, place, and history in order to pay close attention to the notion of circulation. On the one hand, we found some clear continuities: for instance, the Cambodian diaspora living in the United States, mainly Khmer refugees fleeing from the genocide, have actively organized around US deportation through the '1Love Movement'. People once welcomed to the US as refugees help a later generation that is no longer welcome, being deported, and blamed for the effects on them of the trauma of war. The U.S.'s own participation in that horror is ignored with the violence externalized onto Cambodian bodies. So we saw continuities and explicit attempts to create discontinuities. At other times, the connections were not so clear.

MT: For instance, in Paris, we found that there were very few Cambodian-French organizations or recognizable Cambodian-French communities. Rather, people were dispersed, even if they were often located in places of greater disenfranchisement such as the *banlieues*. Ties with Cambodia barely figured in the French imagination despite a powerful and violent historical relationship. We know that Pol Pot was trained in France, that many of the ideas that later informed the Khmer Rouge took shape in France, before they traveled to Cambodia. We began to look at how equality and difference were configured in contemporary French society. How could theories of equality ultimately justify a genocide – did contemporary theories still embed that horrific possibility? To this end, we met with associations and activist groups who were interested in the history of French imperialisms; and in inequality more broadly understood.

RS: Nevertheless, for students, there was almost a sense of relief when we caught up with a fantastic hip-hop group called Komlang Khmer (Khmer Power) in Paris whose raps were later included in the show. Although of diverse backgrounds, they were the first to speak in terms of a hyphenated identity – as 'franco-cambodgiens'. This says a lot about the ways in which the cultures of music travel. What meaning does hip-hop, forged from the U.S. experience of racism, have for those dealing with French republican racism – and how does such expression manifest within a different political framework?

Questions of identity dogged our heels – for instance, in how context affected the reception of the exhibition. We had been insistent with the students on keeping dynamic these triangulations: history-memory-mobility, ethnography-art-dialogue, Cambodia-USA-France. Yet, it was often the 'Cambodia show' in New York and Paris, or an exhibition by 'diasporic artists'; Remember the Khmer Times headline?: 'Diaspora Unite to Exhibit Alternative Futures'. Still, if I had one take-away, it would be that this 'three-ing' kept us generatively off-balance so that certainties were always out of reach.

MT: For my part, I was struck by the fact that the exhibition form opened up a way to grasp both the 'imaginary' (i.e., unrealized futures), and the 'real' that nevertheless eludes understanding (i.e., how equality could justify genocide).

JD: As an experiment, this was ambitious and hugely productive, but not replicable any time soon! The unique investment of time, fundraising, enthusiasm and goodwill that transcended graduations and semesters makes it (sadly) hard to reproduce in a university context!

Jaskiran Dhillon is Assistant Professor of Global Studies and Anthropology (dhillonj@newschool.edu).
Radhika Subramaniam is Director/Chief Curator of the Sheila C. Johnson Design Center and Assistant Professor in the School of Art and Design History and Theory (rsubramaniam@newschool.edu).
Miriam Ticktin is Associate Professor of Anthropology, and co-director of the Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility (ticktinm@newschool.edu).

All three teach at The New School, New York.

Above left: Student notes (Photo by Laura Belik).

Above right: NY exhibition view (Photo by Livia Sá).

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Being human in the world

The Interlocuter

"Reading the world always precedes reading the word, and reading the word implies continually reading the world."[1]

We are witnessing the emergence of neo-liberal universities and a rationalisation of programs and departments of humanities and humanistic social sciences. Disciplines fostering humanistic knowledge are increasingly being disavowed under charges of elitism or archaism even as economic expediency is driving universities to push for their consolidation and/or dissolution. In Japan, for instance, more than fifty universities attempted to downsize their humanities programs following an official dictum in 2013 to focus on disciplines that "better meet society's needs". In a statement made to the NY Times in 2013, Homi K. Bhabha, director of the Mahindra Humanities Center at Harvard University, announced that "The humanities are facing serious challenges in both developed and developing countries. In India for example the humanities are more or less dead, and professional schools and the study of business and technology are in the ascendant".[2]

Aarti Kawlra and Françoise Vergès

AMONG ACADEMIA, however, the concern is not merely about shrinking job opportunities or redundancy, but about the rescue of the humanities from itself, namely from traditional disciplinary emphases on canonical texts and territorially defined area studies. A growing body of scholars, interested in rethinking Asian studies from a de-bordered or de-nationalised perspective, has called for expanding the vocabularies and epistemic breadth of the humanities to take cognisance of the commonalities and connections that unite rather than divide humans. This would mean investigating human vulnerabilities *and* versatilities as part of wider mechanisms of comparison within a global context. Such an expanded humanities has the potential to contribute to contemporary social life by building, supporting and validating humanistic acts (and communities) of interpretation, performance and sustenance regardless of the weight of their antiquity or provenance.

In this reflective essay, we attempt to go past bounded disciplinary, institutional and national prescriptions in the exploration of humanistic learning methodologies that are otherwise overlooked, or sometimes deliberately silenced, within conventional curricula and pedagogic practices. Even though we come from vastly different backgrounds, we share a deep awareness for embodied practices as sites of knowledge and cultural transmission. We are both interested in the politics of circulation – in the mobilities of people around objects, techniques and recipes – and in tracing routes that surpass the frame of national and international relations. Indeed, a search for alternative spaces and methodologies of teaching and learning has been the substratum of our individual perspectives. Aarti Kawlra, an anthropologist based in Chennai, is interested in material culture studies, and Françoise Vergès is a feminist post-colonial theorist from Reunion Island.

Working together in the platforms promoting South-South exchanges offered by the IIAS-Mellon program 'Rethinking Asian Studies in a Global Context' (2013-2015)[3] has yielded a mutual attentiveness to the pedagogical value of alternative sites of knowledge. At the IIAS Summer School titled 'Reading Craft: Itineraries of Culture, Knowledge and Power in the Global Ecumene',[4] held in August 2014 in Chiang-Mai, for instance, we articulated the need for an alternate cartography that re-centred craft-worlds in the exploration of subaltern micro-histories and ethnographies. The IIAS international conference 'Asia/Africa: A New Axis of Knowledge',[5] held in September 2015 at the University of Accra, further validated our shared interest in exhuming erased links and contributions of anonymous slaves, artisans and refugees in finding new connections and comparisons between Asia and Africa and other parts of the world. Pursuing trajectories of cloth, our shared passion, has been especially rewarding as an immediate point of identity and difference. Indigo dyed and printed textiles, for example, have animated many of our meetings and united scholars and practitioners from vastly divergent disciplines and geographies. Our aim is to interrogate the widening gap between everyday /common sense knowledge practices and disciplinary/textual knowledge about *being human* in the world and to share some thoughts on what we are calling 'humanistic pedagogies'.

Second wave of decolonisation?

Movements for restitutive justice across the Global South have highlighted the importance of recovering varied cosmologies and cultures of humanity that reunite people, lands, pasts, that had been torn asunder or ruptured by colonial rule. We know that for interlocutors of imperialism, such as Gandhi, Tagore, Césaire, Cabral, and DuBois, the anti-colonial struggle had already ceased to be defined by the nationalist project and was recast as a humanist struggle for political justice, cultural (non-racialised) dignity and world peace. And even though many of their projects either failed or remain unfinished, it is their search for a liberative education – one that is free from "walled segregation in the particular or ... [from] a dilution in the 'universal'", as Césaire wrote in 1956 – which interests us. We suggest that a second wave of decolonisation is afoot and must be predicated upon the 'decolonial' as method. Instead of limiting ourselves to 'Asia as method' and viewing civilisationalism and the discourse of Asian (or African) unity as a "shared resentment vis-à-vis the West",[6] we propose "decolonial ways of thinking and doing"[7] through the exploration of humanistic pedagogies.

The recovery of humanistic pedagogies is grounded in a long history of dissent and critical thinking. It can be found in Asian and African thought and among indigenous peoples who conceive the world as interconnected as well as in European craft practices and the work of philosophers and writers (Tolstoy for instance). In the world of the 'Black Atlantic', created by the transatlantic slave trade, it emerged as the political-philosophical issue in the anti-slavery struggle of the 18th and 19th century: What does it mean to be human when a cultural, social and economic system has declared that humanity was divided between naturally free and unfree human beings, between lives that mattered and lives that did not matter? It is ironic that slave trade reached its apex during the 18th century when thinkers of the Enlightenment promoted the idea that "all men are created equal".
It is worth recalling that this was also the century featuring revolts of slaves, among them the 1791 insurrection in the French colony of Saint-Domingue that led to the creation of the Republic of Haiti. It also inspired the rallying cry of the European anti-slavery struggle, "Am I not a man and your brother?" Later, in the period of European post-slavery colonisation and imperialism, struggles of resistance stirred poetry, songs, oral literature, manifestos, and educational projects in the South. The idea re-emerged in the 1920's with the anti-colonial movements for civil rights worldwide. In the 1940s, the belief that colonised peoples or 'coloured peoples' should unite and create strong transnational institutions led to the organisation of congresses and the publication of manifestos and journals. All underlined the necessity of being emancipated from the 'pedagogy of servitude', the emancipation from Eurocentric representations of non-Europeans, whether inspired by Orientalism[8] or by other discourses that instituted a global hierarchy of peoples along the lines of race.

Pedagogical projects became strongly associated not only with emancipation from elitist European domination but also with the rehabilitation of vernacular knowledge, practices and voices of the forgotten and the marginalised, together with a rediscovery of art and culture, and their creolised and hybrid forms. This 'pedagogy of the oppressed', to borrow Paulo Freire's expression, was particularly strong in Asia and inspired the first wave of decolonisation.[9] The newly founded nation-states devised pedagogical programmes to promote a national consciousness and sense of cultural identity as a means of self-representation and assertion. The idea culminated in the first African-Asian conference held in Bandung in 1955. Though, according to historians, the final resolution remained timid, reflecting the difficulty of reaching a transnational common goal, most recent analyses have sought to recover the historical dimension of the event. In revisiting Bandung and its 'spirit' here, we are not embracing its intended and unintended outcomes but re-appropriating a history and a genealogy of critical, conscious and collective thinking of the West and the rest of the world for its value in reinvigorating the teaching and learning of the humanities and humanistic social sciences.

More than sixty years ago, anthropologist Lévi-Strauss advised UNESCO to push for greater interaction and methodological unity of the exact sciences with the humanities: "technological civilization is not a separate civilization, which requires the invention of special techniques for its improvement: the humanization of social life is not the task of one profession".[10] We believe, as he did, that any thinking (or judgement) about humans within a prevailing order "... humanizes it, as the emergence of a criticism is already a change".[11] We are therefore proposing an educational agenda that is neither theory-centred nor centred on a particular constellation – the West, industrialisation, capital, a geo-political region, or even the global. Rather, we would like to see theory emerge from inquiries into forms of knowledge-practice that inhabit the interstices and are deemed illegitimate, irrational, vernacular, tacit, embodied and sensorial. In other words, we are seeking decolonial readings of being in-the-world. These conditions include the uses of history, culture, economics, politics, education, art, architecture, craft, design, magic, science and religion; in the past and in the present; in Asia and Africa in-the-world; de-spatialised, quotidian and dividual; those of selves capable of embracing the highest goals and truths; ways of being in-the-world by "not alienating ourselves from it and dominating it, but comprehending and uniting it with ourselves..."[12]

Above: A group of students at the IIAS Summer School in Chiangmai (2014).

Towards alternative pedagogies

We wish to explore the different arenas where knowledge about being human is creatively and collectively released, whilst being attentive to cognitive structures that have delegitimised these spaces of cultural expression and transmission. Masking the conditions of production, distancing producers from consumers and accumulation by appropriation of human and extra-human nature has been a requirement of capitalist economy in the era of the Capitalocene or 'age of capital',[13] crystallising the deification of the individual over the collective. An industrial-minded civilisation has widened the epistemic divide between the human, social and natural sciences by stressing objective and uniform solutions that alienate and rupture alternative values and beliefs of human existence in the world. According to Amitav Ghosh, a collective 'crisis of culture' underlies climate change on earth, invading even the arts and humanities with the false belief and expectation of bourgeois stability.[14] Our aim is to make visible these contradictions and call for the inculcation of a spirit of 'solidarity without borders'[15] within curricula through the integration of humanistic imaginaries, vocabularies, performances and practices in contemporary pedagogic practice.

Spaces of humanistic pedagogies

The proximity of humanistic knowledge production in our midst is an opportunity to bring into dialogue and scholarly interrogation the *real* knowledge of being human. The cultural interlocutions of artists, writers, poets, artisans, migrants and refugees, for example, jostle for space alongside sanctioned knowledge in the humanities, but remain in simple juxtaposition as 'disjunctures' or absorbed as commodities in the global economy. Humanistic knowledge inhabits the tensions around grand narratives of advancement and decline. It resides in the interstices of spatialised polarities constructed by the global, the national, the regional and the urban. It is an opportunity to mobilise the many and varied sites of knowledge that creatively and critically interpret historical and contemporary contingencies across borders. Re-instating the humanistic pedagogical project is to bring back the methods of the artist, the writer, the linguist, the field anthropologist, historian and the scientist, to work together in defence of their engagements with the world.

A further turn towards humanistic forms of knowledge can produce original work if it rests on a new pedagogy, on new ways of reproducing knowledge, of teaching and learning, that support rather than de-authorise or expropriate alternative ways of being and doing. They are alternative because they defend an ecological method and pedagogy, or an eco-pedagogy of imagining (and cooperating) the self *in relationship,* both to human and non-human nature. At the IIAS Summer School on alternative readings of craft practices, for instance, our exposure to back strap loom weaving in a village north of Chiang Mai was especially instructive in using craft as a pedagogic tool and lens for humanistic knowledge. It drew our attention to weaving as an embodied knowledge practice; the significance of the senses in grasping tacit knowledge outside the classroom; and the artisanal household as a site for the inscription of micro-histories of sustenance and knowledge transmission where gender asymmetries in productive arrangements occur within a milieu of 'cooperative conflicts'.[16]

Humanistic pedagogy nourishes the art of attention and challenges the 'culture of speed'[17] in the academy to promote '*sentipensante* (sensing/thinking) pedagogy' in educational practice. It is a methodological tool that recognises the value of an extended grounding in critical thinking *and* doing in order that learning "encompasses wholeness ... helps students transcend limiting views about themselves...".[18] Humanistic pedagogy encourages active reflection, of stepping back and thinking about one's own thinking, to halt the pursuit of a solution, and ponder instead upon the multiple paths to comprehension, and estimating whether the framing of the problem itself is limited or skewed. Most importantly, humanistic pedagogies do not distinguish between the classical and the folk, the performative and the textual, the abstract and the physical, the political/economic and the commonsensical for critical insights. We propose a pedagogic practice working with 'tools of conviviality' – the methodologies that relate individuals and groups to one another in 'creative intercourse' with each other and the world of nature around them.[19] Anchoring ideas of human cooperation, generosity, and trust as shared pedagogic themes across diverse learners builds values of interdependence and permits broader definitions of identity, freedom and self-reliance.

Humanistic pedagogy embraces the highest goals and truths about being human in the world and is rooted in ideas and practices that surpass conventional physical and mental borders. It is a collective process of bringing together people drawn from vastly different circumstances, imaginaries and practices in mutual exchange and expression. For instance, the recent workshop "Cartographies of the (post)colonial space" conducted by Françoise Vergès, brought artists, curators, art historians, poets, philosophers, and historians to work together for two days at an exhibition gallery in Paris. The aim was to display and self-reflexively discuss complex issues using personal effects, texts, images and the body. The first day saw the group's energy buoyed by shared activities around themes such as borders, migrant, hybridity, State, colonial, and of cooking, cleaning and planning the exhibition space and in helping each other rehearse a performance or a reading. On the second day participants 'performed' their individual perspectives not only for the benefit of the public but also as an exercise in decolonial thinking and doing *in situ.* There was a reading of an excerpt from Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth;* a dance performance, dramatization of a poem; display of coffee as a product of imperialism, but also of one's own history; viewing of biographical photos and a film on contemporary urban isolation; browsing through a participant's personal anticolonial, feminist library. The pedagogic exercise or 'show' where the tangible and the tacit were interwoven was undone on the same evening.

Any epistemic rethinking in a global context is therefore not only about discovering forgotten chapters of history or adding marginalised narratives to the master narrative, but also about recovering hidden histories and practices of cooperation. Our references to cooperative alliances are to be found in alternative workshops, in practices of sustenance, and spaces of collaborative work, all the while seeking to eschew the view that individual interest and accumulation, together with its intractable configuration of conflict, is *inherently* human. Arguably, notions of cooperation and learning are developed in the human-space work configuration of both the artisanal workshop and the rational factory. But it is the mutuality of relations between the master and the apprentice in the context of the craft workshop, where knowledge is "caught" or "stolen with the eyes",[20] that continues to be the basis for the survival of craft in the South and deployed as a panacea for development and post-conflict/post-disaster rehabilitation across the globe.

We are interested in challenging the division between pedagogy for higher education and pedagogy for the people, between 'high' and 'low' education, and between technical and humanistic education. Ecological humanistic pedagogy challenges all forms of dehumanised work in favour of shared life-affirmative practices of work; it refuses the marginalisation of the humanities; it is attentive to the ways power circulates; it recognises experience and talent; it acknowledges the relation between master and apprentice though it rejects its reification; it resists the economy of speed for efficiency and rehabilitates the fact that time is needed to nourish knowledge. It advocates a pedagogical/research process that is built on the virtues of comparison and the recovery of creative knowledge to be found, not only through a dialogue across disciplines, but also from outside the academy, in conversation and collaboration with civil society practitioners, activists and other social agents and actors.

We consider work and livelihood, visual and performative practice, language and translation, food and health, and memory practices as sites of humanistic knowledge. These sites gesture to the convivial alliances forged in non-prescriptive workshops, museums, galleries and theatres; neighbourhoods; sidewalks; community centres, camps and other anonymous public spaces of convivial activity, including those provided by the Internet. They are alternate arenas of knowledge transmission, exchange and human reproducibility. They represent ecologies bound not by the endless pursuit of profit, but by the promise of being human in the array of cooperative conflicts that dynamically shape the everyday in all its diverse entanglements.

Attending to tacit and embodied forms of knowledge in the development of humanistic pedagogies offers the opportunity to integrate craft-based practices with digital technology. Why and when do people come together for music for instance? How does music persuade one to rethink classroom pedagogic practices? What are the forms of knowledge (cognitive, sensorial, emotional and social) that are produced in the spaces of conviviality generated through music? How is this knowledge inculcated and transmitted? Multi-media interfaces have the potential to mobilise trans-border networks and narratives to illuminate alternate geographies and modes of being and belonging and are important spaces for knowledge production and transmission.

Such an approach will give back to the body and the senses its central place in knowledge transmission along with written texts. Combining perspectives from the natural, social sciences and the humanities through the heuristic of a site of knowledge, brings to the fore the question of how knowledge is produced, by whom, for whom and significantly with whom. The methodology opens up for description and analysis our relational, negotiated, and partial perspectives. It recognises that only a long, complex practice of critical thinking, doing and feeling, together with a dialogue between different ethical, aesthetic and moral traditions can respond to the continuing human crises of dislocation, dispossession, fragmentation and polarisation in the world today.

The recently awarded IIAS-Mellon program, titled "Humanities across Borders: Asia and Africa in the World", is an opportunity for creative experiments in humanistic pedagogies across multiple collaborating institutions of higher education and their civil society partners in Asia and Africa. Over the next four years we hope to deepen our engagement with embodied teaching and learning practices in the spaces of exchange offered by the program, together with its expanding network of individuals committed to the development of a curriculum for humanities across borders.

Aarti Kawlra, Academic Director, IIAS Mellon program Humanities across Borders, Leiden; and Fellow, Madras Institute of Development Studies Chennai, India (aartikawlra1@gmail.com).
Françoise Vergès, Chair Global South(s), Collège d'études mondiales, FMSH Paris (francoise.verges@msh-paris.fr and fvmcur@gmail.com)

Below: Aarti Kalwira and Françoise Vergès with a weaver from Ban Sam (left) and Nussara Tiengkate, weaver and designer. IIAS Summer School, Chiang Mai, 2014.

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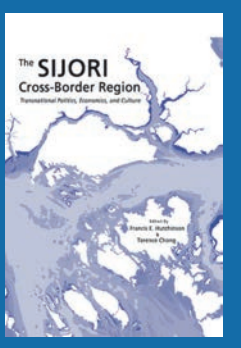

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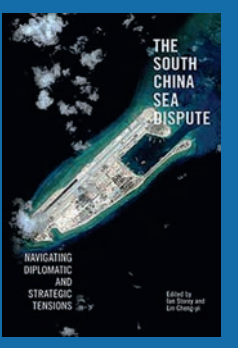

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Pentecostal megachurches in Southeast Asia

Terence Chong

THE ARTICLES PRESENTED HERE are ethnographic studies commissioned by the Regional Social and Cultural Studies Programme at the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute on Pentecostalism in Southeast Asia. Part of an edited volume to be published by ISEAS, these articles are excerpts from chapters which examine the growth of Pentecostal megachurches in urban centres in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore as well as their congregations and the politics and history from which they have emerged and flourished. Indeed the independent Pentecostal movement has been growing rapidly in Southeast Asia in recent decades, benefitting from the broader expansion of charismatic Christianity from the 1980s onwards in Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia, as well as further afield in Taiwan and South Korea.

The conventional definition of 'Pentecostalism' is the emphasis on the deeply personal spiritual experience of God, baptism of the Holy Spirit, expressive worship, belief in signs and miracles, and *glossolalia*. According to estimates, there are 7.3 million Pentecostals in Indonesia; 2.2 million Pentecostals in Philippines; 206 thousand Pentecostals in Malaysia; and 150 thousand Charismatic Pentecostals in Singapore.

A 2011 Pew Research Centre study estimated that there are 279 million Pentecostals worldwide, comprising 12.8 per cent of all Christians. There are no accurate estimates for the number of Pentecostals in Southeast Asia but the percentage of Christians (including Catholics) in Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and Singapore are 13.2 per cent, 8.8 per cent, 85 per cent, and 18 per cent, respectively. The exact number of Pentecostals are difficult to pin down because most country censuses do not differentiate Pentecostals from the larger Christian community. In addition, Pentecostalism does not have strict doctrines or hierarchy, and may manifest as standalone churches or as fringe congregations in mainline denominations.

There are several reasons why Pentecostal growth in this region is important. Firstly, to a large extent the Pentecostal movement has an ethnic face. The majority of Pentecostals in urban centres like Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Surabaya, Jakarta and Manila are, with some notable exceptions, upwardly mobile, middle-class ethnic Chinese. In countries where the ethnic Chinese are in the minority, Pentecostal churches and cell groups are crucial spaces for social networking, business contacts and identity-making. Secondly, it has a wide economic appeal suggesting an ability to tap into different concerns and aspirations. For while the Pentecostal megachurch is often associated with the middle classes, it has great attraction for the poor and the working class in urban centres like Manila. Thirdly, the central figure of the charismatic leader in Pentecostal churches means that senior pastors enjoy great deference and sway over large congregations. In actual terms, this has meant the ability to mobilise financial capital; and the conflation of politics, business and religion to varying degrees raises the spectre of religious nationalism.

Perhaps most crucially, these studies will demonstrate that Asian Pentecostalism has both transnationalising and indigenising characteristics. Drawing from the west and other parts of the world, Asian Pentecostalism is also driven by local prophetic preachers who are able to craft contextual theologies. As such, Asian Pentecostalism is simultaneously recognisable as a part of a global phenomenon and available for examination only as a politically and historically specific movement. These articles, together with the other chapters in the edited volume will offer an updated ethnographic survey of Pentecostalism in Southeast Asia.

Terence Chong, Senior Fellow, ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute; and regional editor for the News from Southeast Asia section in the Newsletter.

Counting souls: numbers and mega-worship in the global Christian network of Indonesia

En-Chieh Chao

INDONESIA HAS a Pentecostal community of an estimated 6 million, among which the Mawar Sharon church is one of the most dynamic and popular. Also known as 'The Rose of Sharon' or GMS, the youth-centered church is particularly attractive to students in Indonesian college towns. While GMS has a strong ethnic Chinese representation, particularly among the leadership strata, in reality its congregations are made up of multiethnic, middle-class individuals oriented towards a global Christian revival. Such individuals are drawn to GMS's market-driven approach to evangelising where number-glorifying and mega-worship services echo strongly the ethos of mass consumption, a point clearly illustrated in the metropolitan city of Surabaya where GMS was founded.

Surabaya, Indonesia's second-largest city, has a population of 3.12 million (5.6 million in the metropolitan area). Known for shipbuilding, food processing, electronics and furniture manufacturing, the city's residents comprise the Javanese majority, Madurese, and Chinese, as well as other ethnic groups such as the Sundanese, Minangkabau, and Bugis. In terms of its religious profile, Surabaya hosts the Grand Mosque of Surabaya and is a strong base for the country's largest Muslim organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama.

Alongside GMS as one of the fastest growing churches in Surabaya is Bethany Indonesian Church. Bethany is the largest Pentecostal church in Indonesia with over 1,000 branch churches around the country and claims to have more than 250,000 members. Like GMS, Bethany was founded and led by ethnic Chinese Indonesians, although the latter's congregation is predominately middle-aged while the former is especially popular among university students. Both these Pentecostal churches are more of a middle-class religious phenomenon that arose as a result of economic growth under the New Order (1966-1998) regime, than an ethno-religious movement.

One of the key characteristics of contemporary Pentecostalism is its extension to areas of life beyond the religious. Pentecostals in Surabaya, for example, conduct self-help workshops for career building, family bonding, women's issues, children and parenthood. Such programmes are not confined to Pentecostals. They are also common among their middle-class Muslim counterparts who combine theology and entrepreneurship and hold seminars in prestigious hotels.

However, unlike Islamic *pengajian akbar* (great sermons) and other self-help workshops, most of which are somber affairs, the praise and worship of Bethany and GMS, and Pentecostalism in general, are far more boisterous, resembling pop concerts. These praise and worship events are locally known as 'KKR' (*Kebaktian Kebangunan Rohani,* literally 'Service of Spiritual Growth'), and demonstrate that Pentecostalism is not only "a portable faith" for the individual, but also a show-business faith designed for the collective.[1]

The ingredients to such boisterous 'mega-worship' are upbeat music, dramatic sermons and dynamic dance. Replacing traditional instruments like the pipe organ or choir hymns are R&B bands, mesmeric gurus, and FM radio pop songs. In the megachurch sensationalism unites believers with the divine while the flashy multimedia employed

The indigenisation of megachurch Christianity: Jesus is Lord in the Philippines

Jayeel Serrano Cornelio

THE JESUS IS LORD (JIL) Movement is one of the biggest independent megachurches in the Philippines and has even been described as one of the fastest growing churches in the world. It claims four million members in the Philippines and 55 other countries.

In 2013 JIL celebrated its 35th anniversary at the open-air grounds of the Luneta Grandstand in Manila. With an estimated 20,000 in attendance, the event adopted the theme 'Revolution of Righteousness', which organisers have explained in two ways. On one hand, the revolution pertains to a spiritual transformation that individuals have to undergo for the sake of salvation. Clearly, this idea cannot be detached from JIL's evangelical ethos. On the other hand, as far as JIL is concerned, such an idea has implications too on the way it sees Philippine society. Speaking at the anniversary, Bro. Eddie Villanueva, founder and senior pastor, emphasised that "the triumph of justice and righteousness must prevail, because, the Bible says, justice and righteousness are the foundations of God's throne." The anniversary's theme neatly defines JIL and its social location as an evangelical church in contemporary Philippines. It has clearly repackaged itself as a force in Philippine society, from an emerging Charismatic church in the 1970s, to a religious entity with political leverage and ambitions today.

What is interesting about JIL is that throughout its history, it has maintained a particularly Filipino identity that differentiates it from many other megachurches in the Philippines, while also sharing architectural and cultural features with their counterparts in the US and Asia. In view of its leadership structure, presence around the world, style of worship, and political ambitions, JIL has a strong Filipino sense that marks it as an indigenised form of the megachurch phenomenon. It is precisely this indigenisation that shows how JIL is a unique case of doing megachurch today. So while it is evangelical and charismatic and thus shares theological positions with many other conservative churches in the West, JIL is also an example of how world Christianity is enriched through its localisation in many parts of Asia.

The indigenisation of megachurch Christianity, insofar as JIL is concerned, takes shape in three respects. First, it is mainly catered for the working class, which predominantly constitutes the population of the Philippines. Helpful in making this assertion is the church's assertive use of the Filipino language and the production of local worship songs, some of which have also become mainstream within evangelical Christianity in the country. It is also fast expanding among Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs). Second, its indigenisation lies in its organisational structure. Its leadership is very Filipino and it does not hold itself accountable to any international evangelical organisation. It has its own ways of training its leaders and organising its local communities. The fact that it is independent from American-affiliated denominations renders JIL an essentially indigenous Christian church. Such independence allows its leaders and members to "bring their message to bear on the culture in which they resided".[1] Finally, JIL sees itself as a prophetic movement to shape the future of the Filipino nation. The Philippines is imagined by its leaders as a nation belonging to Christ. While this conviction is fundamentally spiritual, it is also highly political.

The transformation of political structures is possible through the moral transformation of those in public service. If religious leaders themselves are called upon by God to run for office, run they do. JIL is part of the Philippines for Jesus Movement and Bangon Pilipinas (Arise Philippines) Movement. Brother Eddie himself ran for president at least twice.

JIL demonstrates that megachurch Christianity is not a homogeneous phenomenon that is often associated with a growing middle-class and its accompanying theological and political conservatism. While there are megachurches that clearly fulfil these expectations in the Philippines and the rest of Southeast Asia, JIL presents itself as an alternative precisely because of its indigenized identity. In this sense, it is part of a wider story concerning the unfolding of Christianity in the global South. In other words, indigenization is how a megachurch sees itself first and foremost as an embodiment of Filipino Christianity that at the same time adds to the already rich tapestry of Asian Christianities. What is interesting is that while it may be theologically conservative as a charismatic and evangelical entity, JIL has offered itself as an alternative in other respects. It caters for the working class Filipino when many other megachurches have proven their success by affiliating with the burgeoning affluent and cosmopolitan segment of the population. JIL too has presented itself as a political alternative that instead of simply supporting a set of winnable candidates, has fielded its own under the impression that what is more important for society is moral renewal.

Jayeel Serrano Cornelio, Director of the Development Studies Program, Ateneo de Manila University. (jcornelio@ateneo.edu)

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throughout the sermons and worship appeals to the Youtube appetite for the fast paced pastiche of words, sounds, and melodies of a younger generation. Gigantic screens beam the lyrics of songs or verses, and even vows to God for the worshippers to recite. The KKR service is "Karaoke Christianity" en masse.[2]

If such features are characteristic of Pentecostal megachurches around the world, what then are the more local qualities of Indonesian Pentecostal megachurches? Following the attacks against churches in 1996 and 1998, more ethnic minorities have gravitated towards larger events and congregations for collective healing and sense of security. The collective healing worship services appear to be particularly attractive to psychologically injured Christians, many of whom are keenly aware of their pre-carious existence in the world's largest Muslim-majority nation. Churches located in malls or commercial buildings protected by guards and without obvious symbols of Christianity are now preferred over scattered neighborhood churches that risk closure for not possessing a legal permit or may be vulnerable to attacks. Big numbers in big halls of saved Indonesian souls are vital signs of self-empowerment and (divine) justification of their presence in the ever-more self-consciously spiritual, if not strictly Islamic, Indonesia.

Against this backdrop of Indonesian Pentecostal ethnic minority complex, my chapter examines the traumatizing life experiences of the Chinese-Canadian-Indonesian pastor Philip Mantofa. I pay attention to his programmes of worship such as 'A Trip to Hell, Army of God', and 'Asia for Jesus', and the GMS church's logic of counting souls. From there I shall discuss the international connections of the Indonesian Christian KKR, which form part of the global Christian network of which GMS is an increasingly important part.

En-Chieh Chao, Lecturer,
National Sun Yat-Sen University (Taiwan)

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Reaching the city of Kuala Lumpur and beyond: being a Pentecostal megachurch in Malaysia

Jeaney Yip

PENTECOSTALISM IS SAID to have arrived in Malaysia in the 1930s and its domestic growth has been consistent with the global charismatic movement of the 1970s. Pentecostal churches have flourished among 'those from the margins of society', but have also increasingly resonated with the middle and upper classes. In Malaysia, the political marginalisation of the ethnic Chinese has seen Pentecostalism become a vehicle for the consolidation of the Chinese identity as a modern, individualised subject in the Malaysian state.

Calvary Church is a Pentecostal church based in the capital city, Kuala Lumpur. Established in 1960 as a mission church, it is the largest Assembly of God (AOG) church in Malaysia. However, the Second Malaysia Plan in the early 1970s restricted the stay of foreign missionaries to no longer than ten years, resulting in the appointment of Prince and Petrina Guneratnam as Calvary's first Malaysian senior pastors in 1972; positions they hold up to the present time.

Calvary Church's congregation comprise middle and upper middle-class ethnic Chinese, with a demographic profile that is predominantly made up of middle-aged and baby-boomer cohorts. Diversity among the church is evident with the presence of ethnic Indian members, while newer members include transnational workers like Filipinos, Nigerians, Cambodians and Dutch. As of 2014, the church had sixteen ministries that catered to all segments of its congregation. Cell groups are an essential building block for the church structure and are held in highly urban are as in Kuala Lumpur. The church conducts services in English, Chinese and Bahasa Malaysia. Operating in multiracial, multiethnic and multi-religious Malaysia, Calvary Church caters to and facilitates this diversity. Broadly though, the church views itself as having a higher calling and takes its role in nation-building seriously.

According to estimates Calvary Church has a congre-gation of 3000 members and its latest venue – the Calvary Convention Centre – is claimed to be the largest in South-east Asia with a seating capacity of 5000. According to the church's website, it is dedicated to the pursuit of "holistic activities", and the convention centre was built as a "non-profit project". The church regards 'holistic activities' to mean conventions, banquets, seminars, musicals, creative art productions, educational and vocational training, in addition to spiritual development that "aim to develop our nation's young, and people of all ages and from all walks of life into useful and exemplary citizens of Malaysia". It is noteworthy that the Pentecostal church blurs the distinction between sacred and secular, and frames its new venue and itself as a contribution to the project of nation-building. In engaging with notions of nationhood and community-building, the church is thus able to indigenise itself and exude a non-threatening image to the rest of the non-Christian communities.

Embedded in Malaysia's multicultural but increasingly Islamic-dominant setting, Pentecostal churches like Calvary Church offer non-Malay Muslims resources that enable believers to position and re-script their identities in ways that provide a sense of empowerment and personal transformation in alignment with middle class aspirations. The megachurch's ability to justify the possession of wealth and well-being as a symbol of God's favour, which can be contributed back to community and nation building, has made it popular with the Malaysian Chinese middle-class.

Pentecostalism is known to be adaptable to the local culture in which it is located. While it is important to recognise this adaptability, it is equally important to refrain from the tendency to homogenise Pentecostal churches based on common traits. Asian Pentecostalism, for example, has been argued to be recognisable as a global faith yet specific to locality with clear indigenous characteristics, while politically and historically different from 'Western' or 'American' models. Calvary Church in Kuala Lumpur is certainly evidence of this. It has grown over the years by capitalising on its transnational origins and network while operating under a locally sensitive religious environment by incorporating theologies (both religious and organisational) that have been meaningful to its middle-class ethnic Chinese and Indian congregation.

Jeaney Yip, Lecturer, University of Sydney, Australia
(jeaney.yip@sydney.edu.au)

Below:Calvary Church in Kuala Lumpur (www.calvary.org.my).

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News from Northeast Asia

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History and hybridity of East Asian food culture

KIM Chong Min

Asian foodways today are as diverse and multifaceted as the complex political, ecological, institutional, and socio-cultural transformations the region underwent throughout its modern history. Extensive inter-cultural exchanges in food culture in Asia occurred on the occasions of colonization, wars of various scales, and, more recently, globalization. These changes made at macro-political levels often introduce new factors to the local food practices, influencing and enriching the ways of preparing and consuming food at the everyday level. In this issue of News from Northeast Asia, we have three articles each capturing key aspects of the history of Asian foodways: the article by Seejae Lee examines acculturation in the formation of Western-Japanese fusion cuisine in modern Japan that began with the Meiji Restoration in late 19th century; Young-ha Joo writes about the history of the instant ramen industry in Korea, Japan and Taiwan, which reflects the exchanges and hybridization of food in colonial and post-colonial East Asia; and the article by Zhao Rongguang illuminates Chinese national culinary culture, focusing on philosophical, historical and cultural dimensions.

KIM Chong Min, Regional Editor of 'News from Northeast Asia'; Research Fellow, Seoul National University Asia Centre (snuac_eds@snu.ac.kr)

Formation of Japanese-Western fusion cuisine in Modern Japan

Seejae LEE

MODERN JAPAN has created Japanese-Western fusion dishes such as *kare-raisu* (curry rice), *tonkatsu* (pork cutlet), and *korokke* (croquette) in the process of adopting Western culture. Three factors served as the impetus in the advancement of fusion cuisine in Japan, which fundamentally changed the food culture of the country.

Firstly, during the Meiji Restoration, Japan pursued a policy of active importation of Western food culture. Driven by the agenda for Japan to 'leave Asia and join the West', the Meiji Restoration was a set of structural reforms aiming to Westernize every institution from state systems, industries, and military, to education and culture. The movement to adopt Western food culture was also triggered by these reforms.

Following the Meiji Restoration (1867), Japan started brisk imports of Western dishes and ingredients. As is widely known, since its debut in the country at the birthday banquet for Emperor Meiji in November 1871, French cuisine has been invariably served in Japan at all official receptions for foreign diplomats. As eating meat had long been prohibited prior to the Meiji Restoration, the introduction of Western cuisine focused on meat dishes signified a radical transformation in the food culture. The announcement that the emperor partook of beef was aimed to Westernize Japanese eating habits, but it was also intended to weaken the power of the Buddhist doctrine of *ahimsa,* in the process of suppressing Buddhism and establishing Shinto as the state religion.

After the announcement, Japanese government officials, intellectuals, businessmen, and other elites started consuming Western food en masse. Representative reformist Fukuzawa Yukichi became a passionate proponent of a meat diet after drinking milk helped him recover from a serious disease in 1871. He criticized the traditional taboo on consuming meat, saying, "It has been a long-standing custom for over a thousand years in this country to consider eating meat as contaminating, and many people have recklessly hated it. In the end, it is the hearsay of the unschooled and unlettered who know nothing of human nature". Thus, the announcement of the emperor's consumption of meat created favorable conditions for the spread of Western cuisine and the development of fusion dishes.

The second factor was the introduction of meal provisions in the military, schools, hospitals, and other modern organizations. After the Meiji Restoration, in 1868, the state took the initiative, claiming that Japan cannot build a prosperous and powerful state if its soldiers are frail, so they should eat beef just as Westerners do. Western food came to be associated with a strong army and, consequently, a strong nation. Soldiers were provided with Western-style meals from the early years of the Meiji period. The Japanese government considered the consumption of meat as an important part of its strategy for achieving national prosperity and military power and started canned food manufacturing for the purpose of supplying meat in field rations. During the Sino-Japanese War (1894), the army received a supply of canned food worth 2 million yen, with 25%

of the canned beef imported from the United States. Food in cans was a symbol of modernity and viewed very positively as food that had already been used by American, British, and other Western armies for a long time.

Japan's modernization involved not only building up its military but also establishing a nationwide educational system, large-scale transportation facilities, factories, and other modern institutions. All of them required the introduction of bureaucracy, mass production of food for communal meals, standardization, and rationalization of cooking procedures. It was thought that, to provide meals in large quantities, Western cuisine was more appropriate than indigenous Japanese dishes in terms of nutritional balance for one's health, simplicity of cooking methods, and convenience of preparation.

The third stimulus was the Japanese traditional palate. No matter how vigorous the Westernization and rationalization drives were, one cannot ignore the power of tradition, and the aesthetics of taste that the Japanese possessed. Although the nutritional aspects were emphasized in the early stages of Japanese-Western fusion cuisine development – as reflected in the slogan, "Eat beef and get healthier" – even beef dishes were prepared using Japanese cooking methods and with Japanese seasonings, thereby conforming to the principles of Japanese food aesthetics.

As the consumption of meat by the emperor, political and military leaders, and other elites increased, Western cuisine became more popularized and the demand for it appeared in the middle classes. Sayings such as "If you cannot eat meat, you are uncivilized" were in vogue. Butcher shops opened in cities, and restaurants serving *gyu-nabe* (beef hotpot), made of beef and vegetables seasoned with soy sauce and sugar, sprang up everywhere. There is no doubt that beef was a Western ingredient for the Japanese since they had not traditionally eaten it, but all the vegetables and seasonings for *gyu-nabe* were indigenous and the dish was eaten in the Japanese way. In other words, there was no problem with staying true to the Japanese cooking system as long as the ingredients were Western.

Japanese-Western fusion cuisine emerged in the early 20th century through this process of incorporating ingredients and some cooking methods of the West. Culinary schools appeared and women's colleges started offering classes on Western cuisine around the same time. Familiarity with Western food among young men who had served in the military and many college students ensured the demand for fusion cuisine. By the end of the Meiji period (around 1910), fusion cuisine evolved into a harmonious mixture of Western and Japanese culinary traditions. Fusion dishes created in modern Japan – *kare-raisu, tonkatsu,* etc. – were disseminated to Korea and other regions through colonial rule and gained a wide currency.

One of the obstacles to the introduction of Western cuisine was the difficulty to obtain ingredients. During the early Meiji period, there was a shortage of beef and an insufficient supply of Western vegetables such as onions, cabbage, carrots, celery, and tomatoes. However, from the 20th century, the mass production of onions, cabbage, and carrots started in Hokkaido, which contributed to the development and spread of fusion cuisine.

The establishment of canned food manufacturing, development of refrigeration technology, modernization of cooking utensils, and other industrialization projects played an important role in the modernization of Japanese food. The popularization of *korokke* was largely related to the large-scale cultivation of potatoes in Hokkaido. The early 20th-century launch of domestically produced curry powder, which had previously been imported from England, led to wider consumption of *kare-raisu*. Cooking the dish in Japanese homes became possible when the manufacturing of solid curry roux began in 1950. Japan also started the industrial production of coarse breadcrumbs for *tonkatsu* and exported them overseas. The simultaneous industrialization and modernization of the country was a decisive factor in the development of Japanese-western fusion cuisine.

So far, rice has maintained its position as the primary staple in fusion dishes. If bread replaces it, this will trigger another major transformation in Japanese food culture. It may usher in a new stage of food Westernization, following the introduction of Western cuisine during the Meiji Restoration and the proliferation of Japanese-Western dishes. On the other hand, culinary traditions from other countries in Asia and beyond are entering Japan, rapidly shifting its food landscape in the multicultural direction. Consequently, the Westernization/modernization fervor is not as strong as it was during the Meiji period, even though Japanese-Western fusion cuisine continues to serve as an important platform for changes in the food culture. It will be interesting to observe how Japanese cuisine will transform in the future based on the influences of different cultures.

Seejae LEE, Graduate NGO Studies Program, Sungkonghoe University (seejaelee@gmail.com).

Imperialism and colonialism in the food industry in East Asia: focusing on instant Ramen

Young-ha JOO

ONE EVENT OF PROFOUND INFLUENCE on the food cultures of Korea, Taiwan, and Japan after World War II was the supply of surplus wheat by the United States in the form of grants or on credit. In 1953 and 1954, American farms yielded an extremely bountiful wheat harvest. From the position of the US government, it was a surplus product. In the early post-war years, American surplus agricultural produce was given as aid to the countries of Western Europe. However, as the productive capacity of European agricultural industries quickly recovered, they no longer needed American surplus products. In this situation, Washington turned its focus towards Japan, Korea, and Taiwan as potential destinations for its excess farm commodities. The three countries shared important similarities: all of them suffered from shortages in staple foods and all three were under the political, economic, and military umbrella of the United States.

In 1945–1953, during the periods of the United States Military Government and the Korean War, the United States supplied a substantial amount of foodstuffs to Korea under the Military Defense Assistance Act (MDAA). For instance, between 15 December 1948 and 31 December 1949, the grant-type food assistance amounted to US$ 13million. From 1953 to 1961, surplus agricultural produce was supplied along with military aid under the Mutual Security Act (MSA). In 1954, the Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), which was in charge of planning American overseas assistance, shipped to Korea barley worth US$ 1.785 million, wheat worth US$ 2.007 million, and beans worth US$ 0.691 million. Korea received even more aid in accordance with the 1956 revised Public Law 480 (PL480). Barley alone amounted to US$ 13.863 million.

The circumstances in Taiwan and Japan were not much different. Inflow of American surplus wheat to Japan would eventually lead to the invention of instant ramen in the country. The historical reason making such an invention possible was Taiwan's experience of Japanese colonial rule. Japan's first instant ramen was developed by the founder of Nissin Food Products Co., Ltd., Momofuku Ando (1910–2007). Born in Taiwan, he started his own business in Osaka in 1933, married a Japanese, and was naturalized in Japan. There is a good chance Ando's Chikin Ramen (chicken ramen) was inspired by *jī sī miàn* (鶏絲麵, shredded chicken noodles) of the southern region of China. In this way, the occupation of Taiwan by

News from Northeast Asia *continued*

the Japanese Empire and naturalization of a Taiwanese as a Japanese citizen prompted the invention of instant ramen. According to Ando's biography, he came upon a 20–30 meter queue in front of a black market food stall on a cold winter's night; they were all waiting to buy a bowl of ramen. "The faces of the people who were slurping warm ramen looked happy. The Japanese really like noodles. Looking at the line in front of the stall, Ando got a feeling that there was a big demand hiding there. The sight printed a proto-image of ramen in his mind."

Momofuku Ando developed his chicken ramen against the background of a surplus supply of wheat from the United States after the war. The Japanese government of the time actively encouraged the Japanese to eat bread made with that wheat. Critical of the policy, Ando said in 1947 to Kunidaro Arimoto, who worked for the Health Ministry, "With bread, you need toppings or side dishes. But the Japanese are eating it only with tea. It is not good for their nutritional balance. In the East, there is a long tradition of eating noodles. Why not also promote noodles, which the Japanese already enjoy, as a flour-based food?" To his bold question, Kunidaro replied, "Why don't you solve this problem?" Ten years later, in 1957, Ando purchased a second-hand noodle-making machine, Chinese pot, 18 kg of wheat flour, cooking oil, and other ingredients, and embarked on a study of noodles that one can easily make, at his home in Osaka. Instant ramen under the trademark 'Chikin Ramen' came into being and entered Japanese stores the following year, in 1958.

In Korea, Samyang Ramen was first produced in 1965. The founder of Samyang Foods Co., Ltd., Jung-yun Jeon (1919–2014) had been interested in the Japanese ramen industry since 1965. He adopted the instant ramen technology of a Japanese company which, unlike Nissin Food Products, had the soup separated from noodles in the product, and put the ramen business into orbit with the surplus wheat imported from the United States. Making noodles for ramen once he had a noodle-making machine was not a difficult problem. The manufacturing process was relatively simple: he poured the water mixed with salt and soy sauce on wheat flour, kneaded the dough, spread it thinly, and drew noodle strips from the machine. The problem, however, lay in the quality of the flour. From 1955, the US government provided aid mostly with non-processed wheat, explaining the change as being due to the large stock of wheat in the United States. Milling it with Korean domestic technology of the time meant that the quality of flour was inconsistent. Consequently, it was hard to make uniform dough, and the noodle strips were often deformed or snapped. The noodles would then have to be fried in edible beef tallow or lard. To do so, Samyang Industrial Corporation processed the green oil obtained from slaughterhouses in-house or used soybean oil provided to the military. In the end, Jeon requested the assistance of the Korean government and was able to import edible beef tallow and lard from the United States.

In the case of Taiwan, American excess farm commodities were brought in from 1945. Wheat turned out to be highly efficient in resolving the food shortages. It was the main ingredient for staple foods to many Han Chinese who migrated from China's mainland. Accustomed to noodles, the Taiwanese imported Chikin Ramen from Japan ten years after it was invented. Taiwan's Uni-President Enterprises in cooperation with Japan's Nissin Food Products released a ramen product with separate seasoning in 1970.

However, Uni-President's ramen failed to attract consumers' attention at first. There already were different kinds of noodles on the market and the locals who moved from the mainland after the 18th century consumed them as a staple food. It was only after Uni-President developed Tǒngyī-miàn (統一麵, Uni's noodles) – a variety of ramen similar to *yóu-miàn* (油麵, oil noodles) which had a long history in Tainan – and coordinated its launch with a television commercial campaign in 1971 that people noticed the company's ramen. To cook the product, one had to put the noodles into a bowl, sprinkle the seasoning over the noodles, and add hot water.

Momofuku Ando's son and current president of Nissin Food Products, Koki Ando (b. 1947) posed the question of how instant ramen, a processed food product, could become a global hit. His own answer? "In every country, there is a cook who did his best to recreate [in ramen] the taste inherited in that country for generations. The product itself is convenient and easy to localize. In this way, ramen swiftly penetrated into the everyday life of people in every corner of the world." Koki Ando considered localization the main reason for the popularity of ramen with five spices in China and ramen with *tom yam* soup in Thailand. When discussing Korea, he pointed out the spicy flavor of *kimchi*, selected by Nongshim Co., Ltd. for its Shin Ramyun, as a typical example. He said, "It is not simply spicy, as many Japanese would assume. We have tried several times, but it is very difficult for a Japanese to achieve such a savory spiciness."

Thereby, every country has adopted the Japanese technology for making instant ramen and given the product its own flavor. However, instant ramen derives its basic production technique, marketing strategy, and distribution method from the Japanese modern food industry, which emerged in the late 19th century. The addition of American surplus wheat made the invention of instant ramen and its expansion possible. Furthermore, during the colonial period in Korea and Taiwan, the Japanese modern food industry acquired the image of being advanced, and this contributed to the rapid dissemination of instant ramen in those markets.

In short, it is no exaggeration to say that the combination of 'old imperialism' symbolized by Japan and the 'new imperialism' represented by the United States gave birth to instant ramen. Even though the colonial period was formally over, the flavors of food products spread by an empire in its colonies were continuously reproduced in their localized forms by the former colonial peoples after liberation.

Professor Young-ha JOO, Graduate School of Korean Studies, Academy of Korean Studies (duruju@aks.ac.kr).

Chinese food: basic theories and diverse realities

Rongguang ZHAO

A CHINESE PROVERB GOES, "Different kinds of water and soil raise different kinds of people (一方水土一方人)." There is a similar saying in the West: "You are what you eat". Only when you know the entire history of a nation can you fully understand its food culture.

The basic concepts and theories of Chinese food science that exercised a profound influence on the diet and food culture of the Chinese were largely determined during the Warring States period (5–2 centuries B.C.E.). They can be summarized by the following four principles.

1) Unity of food and medicine (食醫合一): In traditional Chinese pharmacology, whose history goes back over 4,000 years, medicine originates from food. The idea of the unity of diet and treatment was systemized and popularized during the Zhou dynasty (11–3 centuries B.C.E.). Food and medicine were considered distinct yet inseparable from each other.

2) Nursing one's health with food (飲食養生): Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu emphasized that, when consuming food, one should remember "the tongue cannot be satisfied". According to them, not until one restrains his desire, common for all humans, to try every taste, can he gain health; and even though the tongue wants delicious food, one should not have it if it is harmful to one's health.

3) Theory of the nature of taste (本味論): The Chinese, since olden times, have contemplated the 'nature of the taste' of ingredients, the taste of food, and the influence that the interaction of the two has on a person. Believing that the nature of an ingredient is revealed in its taste, the ancient Chinese attached great importance to the type of an ingredient's taste.

4) The food philosophy of Confucius and Mencius (孔孟食道): A food philosophy that mainly refers to "be refined on two things, be appropriate with three issues, and avoid ten wrongs" (二不厭、三適度、十不食《論語・鄉黨篇》) - from Confucius' and Mencius' idea that "One cannot eat just for survival but has to work hard to get food, more than that, one has to get food in a proper way as well as respect and practice food rituals." (食志一食功一食德) It is worth mentioning that some of these ideas are extensions to the 'nursing one's health with food'; for instance, maintaining an authentic taste, being rational and refraining from excess, following rules of nature, and seeking peace by nursing one's health.

Chinese food. Image reproduced under a creative commons license courtesy of Run Mizumushi-Kun on flickr.

The food culture of the Chinese nation is characterized by five features, in terms of its forms and historical development: the broad spectrum of available ingredients, abundance of dishes, flexibility of cooking methods, continuity of regional customs, and cultural exchanges between different regions. These features underlie the tradition and essence of the Chinese food culture to this day.

China has always been very diverse geographically, and this explains the existence of the wide variety of food ingredients and the extensive range of their distribution. The Chinese made edible many living things that are not known or considered taboo in other nations; some of these became delectable dishes.

It is this wide scope and abundance, along with the unique Chinese ideology on food and culinary art that predetermined the flexibility of traditional ways of Chinese cooking. "Collecting experience by hand" is an important characteristic of the traditional Chinese cuisine, stemming from its history.

Areas with different food cultures have developed in China separately from each other. From the perspective of food history, the culture and character of each of those areas has evolved gradually through a long historical process. In China of the Middle Ages, different regions were able to maintain their distinctive features for a relatively long time because of their isolation, self-sufficient natural economies and the conservative feudal politics on one hand, as well as the primitive commodity economies and poverty of the common people on the other. The scenes of daily life in rural, mountainous, and border areas in premodern China are well described in the following saying: "Neighboring states face each other, can hear when a neighbor's rooster cries and dog barks; yet their people grow old and die without stepping outside of their state."

Despite the economic and systemic barriers, there were frequent exchanges between the areas. Merchants and travelers play an important part in the introduction and dissemination of different cultures. Wars and chaos stimulated food cultural exchanges widely, quickly, and aggressively. While another significant route for foodways were appointments of public officials, study trips of Confucian scholars, hired labor, stationing of armies, expulsion of criminals, migration, escaping turbulence, and so on.

Professor Rongguang ZHAO, Chinese Dietary Culture Institute of Zhejiang Gongshang University (zhaorongguang126@126.com).

China Connections

Islam in China

Lena Scheen

Terrorism, war, refugees, niqab, Syria, ISIS or Daesh. It is hard to find a recent newspaper article on Islam that does not contain one of these words. But how often do we read about the twenty-five million Muslims living in China? Ever since the first Muslim traders arrived in the Chinese Empire over 1400 years ago, Muslims have played an important role in Chinese history. For this first issue of China Connections – a series on China's relation to the world and hosted by the **Asia Research Center (ARC-FD) at Fudan University** and the **Global Asia Center (CGA) at NYU Shanghai** – we invited four scholars to write about their research on Islam in China. Together they explore questions such as: Why did the Qianlong Emperor issue an imperial edict to conduct an empire-wide investigation of Hui Muslim communities in 1781? How did a small town in Yunnan Province become a center for Islamic learning? And how do its current residents deal with the haunting ghosts of 1600 Muslims killed in 1975? How does institutionalization play a role in the unification of the spatially dispersed and ethnically diverse Chinese Muslim communities? And how does a Chinese Muslim studying in Egypt experience the Arab Spring? It is through these stories of cultural exchange, conflict, and integration that we hope to provide a deeper, more layered understanding of Islam today.

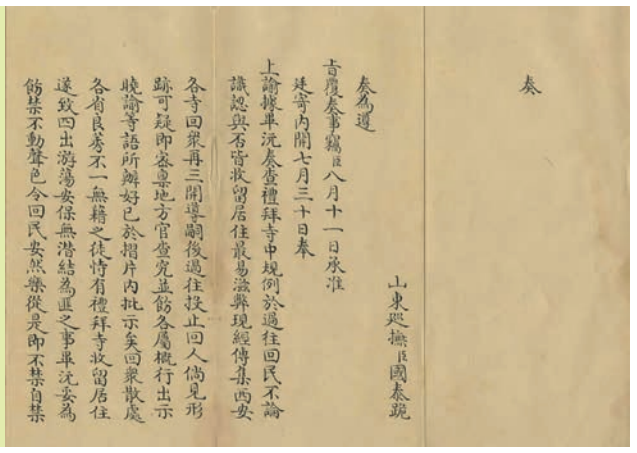
Lena Scheen, Assistant Professor of Global China Studies at NYU Shanghai, and Regional Editor for 'China Connections' (lena.scheen@nyu.edu).

Center for Global Asia at NYU Shanghai
The Center for Global Asia at NYU Shanghai serves as the hub within the NYU Global Network University system to promote the study of Asian interactions and comparisons, both historical and contemporary. The overall objective of the Center is to provide global societies with information on the contexts for the reemerging connections between the various parts of Asia through research and teaching. Collaborating with institutions across the world, the Center seeks to play a bridging role between existing Asian studies knowledge silos. It will take the lead in drawing connections and comparisons between the existing fields of Asian studies, and stimulating new ways of understanding Asia in a globalized world.

Asia Research Center at Fudan University
Founded in March 2002, the Asia Research Center at Fudan University (ARC-FDU) is one of the achievements of the cooperation of Fudan and the Korean Foundation for Advanced Studies (KFAS). Throughout the years, the center has been working tirelessly to promote Asian Studies, including hosting conferences and supporting research projects. ARC-FDU keeps close connections with the ARCs in mainland China and many institutes abroad.

Who were the Hui? The first empire-wide investigation of Hui communities in Qing China.

Meng WEI



ON 29 MAY 1781, the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-95) of China issued an imperial edict to conduct an empire-wide investigation of Hui communities. The order was in response to the 'FanHui' rebellion (also known as the 'Salar Rebellion') by the Hui minority in Gansu province. It was immediately passed down to the lowest levels of Qing government and detailed reports were sent to the governors or governor-generals of the eighteen provinces ('China proper') for investigation and then made known to the Emperor. The results of the investigation provided the Qing state with a renewed understanding of the Hui landscape of its empire and constituted the basis for future policymaking towards the Hui.

The 'FanHui' rebellion was inspired by Ma Mingxin (1719-81), a native of Gansu and a Sufi leader who had introduced the 'new teaching' to the region following his return from several years of study of Jahriya Sufi practices in Yemen. In a simplistic view, 'Fan' is a term often associated with non-Han populations neighboring 'China proper', while the term 'FanHui' in this context mainly refers to the Salars, a Turkic Muslim group in Gansu. The introduction of new elements into Islam triggered dissention and even violence among adherents of different and competing Islamic teachings. However, the prime cause of open conflict between the new-teaching 'FanHui' and the Qing state was the Qing state's inconsistent legal implementations and misconceptions over peoples classification during the transitional period when the regions that used to be 'Fan' were becoming an administratively part of 'China proper' as a result of the Qing westward expansion in the eighteenth century.

After the rebellion, the 'new teaching' was labeled as a 'heterodox teaching' *(xiejiao)* by the Qing state. On 29 June 1781, the Qianlong emperor issued another imperial edict to command that the investigation had to remain unalarming in order not to cause further disturbances. During the investigation, anyone found involved with the 'new teaching' would be seized immediately, interrogated strictly by provincial governors or governor-generals in person, and punished severely. Under this climate of suspicion, the investigators devised and deployed various strategies to access and probe into the Hui communities. For example, a Governor of Henan province selected local officials who, dressed in Muslim attire, had to go undercover among the Hui community. In another instance, a Governor-general of Sichuan brought in for interrogation as many as nineteen senior Hui residents from the provincial capital and its suburbs and four 'headmen' *(xiangbao)* selected by local officials and responsible for maintaining public safety as well as managing secular matters. Secret investigations into various Hui communities throughout the province were made afterwards to testify their testimonies.

The main goal of the edict was to find out whether there existed any positions or titles such as 'imam' *(zhangjiao)* and 'imam-superior' *(zong zhangjiao)* among the Hui communities, and, if so, to abolish them in an effort to prevent other rebellions by such religious leaders. The Qianlong emperor was probably relieved to find out these positions or titles were in fact not found in most of the provinces being surveyed. In addition, unlike the Hui in the 'Fan' regions, the Hui in 'China proper' turned out to be mostly peaceful, law-abiding, and not infected by the 'new teaching.'

This little-studied yet pivotal episode opens a rare window onto the Hui landscape in Qing China and offers a unique insight into the ways in which the Qing state perceived, identified, and managed the Hui. One striking feature found in the official reports is that, not distinguished from the Han, the Hui were all registered as 'commoners' (*minren* or *qimin*) into the *baojia* system, an instrument of social ordering implemented by the Qing.[1] However, although the Hui and the Han fell under the same legal category, by employing various investigative methods, Qing investigators still found their ways to single out and identify the Hui, evident by the number of Hui households and mosques they kept record of in their reports. In the very process of exhaustively searching for and recording the quantities of Hui households and mosques at every corner of 'China proper,' the Qing state envisioned the Hui communities in its various provinces as belonging to a same group, one that the state could keep monitoring ever since.

Above left: "Salar man and woman in Hezhou, Gansu province." Source: *HuangQing zhigong tu* 皇清職貢圖 (Depictions of Tributaries of the August Qing), *juan* 5, pp. 6a-6b. The compilation of this nine-volume work was started in 1751 under the order of the Qianlong emperor. It contained analogous depictions of ethnic types within and without the Qing empire.

Above right: A memorial sent to the Qianlong emperor by the Provincial Governor of Shandong province on 13 October 1781. Source: Grand Council Archives, National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Meng WEI is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of History at New York University (mwei@nyu.edu)

References

1 "*Baojia* was a system under which households were regimented into nested decimal groupings of ten, one hundred, and so on for purposes of assigning collective responsibility in public security and other matters and for fixing personal responsibility for the group on a single 'headman' at each level of the hierarchy". Rowe, W.T. 2001. *Saving the World: Chen Hongmou and Elite Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century China.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, p.388.

China Connections *continued*

CONFERENCES IN CHINA

Shanghai Forum

28-30 May 2016, Shanghai
http://www.shanghaiforum.fudan.edu.cn/en

The Shanghai Forum, launched in 2005, is known as one of the most famous international forums held in Shanghai. Co-hosted by Fudan University and Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies, and undertaken by Fudan Development Institute (FDDI), the Forum is a non-governmental and non-profit academic organization, which holds an annual symposium each May in Shanghai. This year's theme was "Economic Globalization and Asia's Choice – Interconnectivity, Integration and Innovation: Building Community of Common Destiny in Asia".

Shanghai Forum takes its mission to "Concentrate on Asia, Focus on Hot Issues, Congregate Elites, Promote Interactions, Enhance Cooperation and Seek Consensus" seriously. It endeavors to build an interactive platform for multi-sided communication amongst academic, political, commercial, and press circles through which significant problems both in Asia and the world will beare discussed comprehensively and profoundly, so as to seek consensus on Asia's economic, political, social and cultural progress. Shanghai Forum opens application to the world. Many well-known think tanks, universities, enterprises, media and other organizations apply to host roundtables /sub-forums every year.

Over the years, numerous political dignitaries, distinguished scholars, and business leaders have been invited to share their thoughts and wisdom at Shanghai Forum, including Chen Zhili (former Vice Chairman of the NPC of China), Cheng Siwei (former Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC of China), Lee Kuan Yew (former Prime Minister of Singapore), Han Seung-soo (former Prime Minister of Republic of Korea), Shaukat Aziz (former Prime Minister of Pakistan), Robert Alexander Mundell (known as the '"father"' of the Euro, 1999 Nobel Laureate in Economics), Robert Shiller (2013 Nobel Prize Laureate in Economics), Vladimir Yakunin (President of JSC Russian Railways), and Robert Zoellick (former President of the World Bank Group). Shanghai Forum also receives strong support from the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and the Shanghai Municipal Government.

Shanghai Archaeology Forum

13-17 December 2015, Shanghai
http://shanghai-archaeology-forum.org/

Founded in 2013, Shanghai Archaeology Forum (SAF) is a global initiative dedicated to promoting the investigation, protection and utilization of the world's archaeological resources and heritage. The 2015 SAF was co-organized by the Shanghai Academy, the Institute of Archaeology at CASS, Shanghai Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage, and Shanghai University. The forum aims to provide a better understanding of the importance of the field of archaeology and the protection of cultural heritage for our common future.

To celebrate the excellence of archaeological research the SAF Awards were presented to those individuals and organizations that have achieved distinction by making major discoveries and producing innovative, creative, and rigorous works in the past three years. The World Archaeology Keynote Lecture Series presented case studies illustrating key issues such as diverse forms of social and cultural interaction, the formation and transformation of cultural and social identities, the complexities and ambiguities of cultural identities and power relations, the active roles of indigenous agency, practice and ideology in structuring colonial interaction, cultural persistence and the importance of historical contingency and local context.

The Public Archaeology Lecture Series promoted public awareness and knowledge of the ever-increasing wealth of archaeological finds. The Public Archaeology Lecture Series invited three important archaeologists, Charles Higham, Lothar von Falkenhausen, and Colin Renfrew, to share their experiences on archaeology with students, and the general public. After the public lectures, the audience was given the opportunity to engage with these famous archaeologists, discussing archaeological findings, as well as their concerns on the appreciation and protection of cultural diversity and the challenge of vanishing heritage in our globalizing world.

Qiaowei WEI (魏峭巍) is Associate Professor in the Department of History at Shanghai University (weiqiaowei@gmail.com)

Shadian's Muslim communities and trans-local connectivities: observations from the field

Hyeju (Janice) JEONG

I REACHED SHADIAN TOWN after a three hour drive from Kunming, the capital of Yunnan Province, China. As I stepped out of the car in the chill of a late November night, the site of Shadian's magnificent Grand Mosque and the call to night prayers reminded me that I was in a zone quite different from Kunming.

Shadian has ten mosques, with the Grand Mosque - modeled upon the Al-Masjid al-Nabawi mosque in Medina and completed in 2009 - as its symbol. Almost ninety percent of Shadian's fifteen thousand residents are Muslims, belonging to the contemporary Hui minority of China. However, Shadian is also known for the so-called Shadian Incident of 1975, in which villagers forcefully opened closed-down mosques during the last years of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The 'incident' left 1,600 people dead at the hands of the People's Liberation Army. "The old Islamic schools in Shadian used to have valuable library collections, but everything has been burnt," lamented my informant, Mr. Ma. Across the Mosque was the Islamic Culture and Arts Center that exhibits and sells Sino-Islamic artworks. Within a few blocks of the Grand Mosque, one senses a mix of forward-looking aspirations and painful memories, reflecting a continuing history of repression and resilience of Islam in China.

Shadian's trans-local networks in history

Islam in Yunnan expanded during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), when Sayyid Ajjal Shams al-Din from Bukhara (current Uzbekistan) was appointed as the provincial governor, promoting both Islamic and Confucian institutions. According to Mr. Ma, "he also built aqueducts, without him you would not see present-day Yunnan". Following waves of Muslim settlement into the town since the thirteenth century, Shadian became a part of caravan trade routes between Yunnan and Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Myanmar and India. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, trade became so important that, just before the Chinese communist victory of 1949, around 700 out of Shadian's 980 families, had two to three horses conducting commerce across northern Thailand and Myanmar.[1]

In the first half of the 20th century, Shadian also emerged as a significant center for Islamic learning. For example, of the thirty-three students from China who studied in Cairo's al-Azhar University in the 1930s and 1940s, five came from Shadian alone. They were heavily sponsored by Bai Liangcheng (白亮诚, 1893–1965). A scholar and an official, Bai Liangcheng founded the Yufeng Elementary School in 1914, one Islamic Girls School, and several Islamic periodicals. The old Yufeng Elementary School now displays an exhibition on Bai Liangcheng and Shadian's notable Muslims. Here I learned that Bai also initiated industrialized tea commerce based in Yunnan's southernmost Xishuangbanna. With imported technology and machineries from Japan and India, he constructed a large-scale tea factory, creating trade networks domestically and across the borderlands of Thailand and Myanmar. These connections would later provide permanent homes for Shadian diaspora, who migrated to Thailand and Myanmar in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and formed Sino-Islamic enclaves. In November 1948, Bai Liangcheng and fifty others left Shadian, most likely to flee Communist rule. The following year, fourteen of them undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca. "It's embarrassing to say you're escaping," said Mr. Ma. "So you say you're going on the pilgrimage."

Return to Kunming

Back in Kunming, I told my Chinese host family about my experiences in Shadian, but was met with somewhat perplexed and worried expressions flashing across their faces. Later in the evening, my host forwarded me an article on Zhihu Ribao, a Chinese online platform where articles are posted anonymously. The article drew parallels between the Shadian Incident and the contemporary Islamic State in the Middle East – "both groups being violent, self-unifying and terrorist in essence" – echoing the dominant and official narrative in China. The rich histories that I observed in Shadian, rooted in southern Yunnan with its critical ties outwards that have shaped the province's many landscapes, are apparently not making their inroads into the audience who needs them the most.

Hyeju (Janice) JEONG is a Ph.D Candidate in the Department of History at Duke University (janice.jeong@duke.edu)

References

1 Ma Weiliang, Yunnan Huizu Lishi yu Wenhua Yanjiu (Kunming, Yunnan Daxue Chubanshe, 1999), 241.

Islam in contemporary China: an overview

Jianping WANG

CHINA IS HOME to a large Muslim population. According to the Islamic Association of China, the country has over 25 million Muslims, 40,000 mosques and more than 50,000 Akhond, a Persian title for the Islamic clerics who serve the scattered communities all over the country. Every year, more than 10,000 Muslims make their pilgrimage to Mecca, while - over the past thirty years - nearly 12,000 Muslim students have completed their Islamic studies abroad, and another 100,000 have studied Islam in the *madrasa* (religious school) in China. All these figures show that Islam is not an insignificant issue for contemporary China's political and social landscape.

After being banned during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Islam in China has undergone a revival since the reform and opening-up policy of the late 1970s. In just thirty years' time, it has transformed from an underground religion into an Arabian-style religion that is officially recognized as one of the five religions in China (Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Protestantism, and Catholicism). Whether wearing their long robes, turbans, or hajibs, Muslims can be found all over China; from the big cities of Beijing and Shanghai to the island of Hainan, from Inner Mongolia in the north to Yunnan in the south, from the western border of Tibet to the eastern coastal region. However, more than half of the Muslim population lives in Northwest China, particularly in the Uygur Autonomous Region of Xinjiang, the vast region where 23,000 mosques serve various ethnic communities, including Uygur, Kazak, Kirghiz, Tajik, Uzbek, Tatar, Salar, Hui, Dongxiang, and Bao'an. Islam is also flourishing in the academic world: there are more that sixty Islamic periodicals, Muslim professors and scholars teach and research Islam in various universities or research institutions, and many conferences, workshops and forums on Islam are being held all over China, often sponsored and organized by Muslim elites.

The three pillars of the Islamic network in China

However, although China has more Muslims than any Arabian country, they are in fact still a vulnerable minority in Han-dominated China. While Muslims profit from governmental policies giving preferential treatment to ethnic minorities ('affirmative action') and officially enjoy freedom of religious practice, they are supervised carefully and restrictions remain in place over the activities of *madrasas,* religious ceremonies, religious organizations, etc. In order to maintain their Islamic tradition and to uphold their monotheistic identity, it is important for the widely dispersed Muslim enclaves to build a strong network in and outside of China. Three Islamic institutions form the backbone of this network.

Firstly, the mosque plays a central role in the Chinese Muslim community. Besides its religious function as a place for ritual praying, mosques in China also have social, economic, and cultural functions, such as administrative management, festival celebration, social mobilization, economic enterprises, cultural education, or even daily life affairs. Hence, the mosque is a stronghold that binds its local community, while stretching out its external relations with communities in other areas, in order to establish the *umma* (Muslim nation) in the context of an unreceptive environment.

Secondly, the *maktab* (grammar school, or primary level) and *madrasa* (Islamic college or high level) provides the Chinese Muslim community with education in Islamic knowledge, faith reinforcement, and passes Islamic tradition to the next generation. Most *maktabs* and *madrasas* in China are attached to the mosques, however, there are also quite a few *madrasas* set up independently and open to all Muslims in society. They are not only responsible for the maintenance of Islam and to cultivate young Muslims, but also to strengthen and revive Islamic consciousness of Muslims of all ages. *Maktabs* and *madrasas* often regenerate the vitality of the community

Snapshots of Sino-Muslim students living in Egypt

Shuang WEN

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA resumed sending Chinese Muslim students to al-Azhar University in Egypt in 1982. A small number of the students are sent by the Islamic Association of China, headquartered in Beijing, and approved by the Chinese Embassy in Cairo. These students can enjoy the benefits of an education exchange agreement between the PRC and Egypt, i.e., they can live in the international student dorms at al-Azhar University and receive a modest monthly stipend. Most, however, travel on their own initiative; they are unable to enjoy the benefits of the education exchange agreement and have to fend for themselves. So when the Arab Spring broke out in January 2011, their lives in Egypt suddenly became uncertain. Below are two snapshots of these self-funded Chinese-speaking Sino-Muslim students.[1]

Nabil

Nabil comes from a pious Muslim family in Henan. He went to Egypt in 2008 to study Islamic law at al-Azhar University, aspiring to become an *Ahong* (a Chinese term for *imam*) upon graduation. Because he did not have much prior knowledge of Islamic studies or the Arabic language, he did not receive a fellowship from the Islamic Association in China. However, he was very driven and passionate about his studies. When the uprising in Egypt erupted, his family members wanted him to return. However, just like many of his fellow Muslim students from around the world, he was excited about the revolution. He saw that people who held prior grudges for personal reasons became supportive of each other, as if they were united by a moment of uncertainty. Feeling inspired, he made a conscientious choice to stay in order to witness the unfolding of a historical event in the Islamic world. He believed that this experience would strengthen his faith and enrich his personal growth in life.

Khalid

Khalid is originally from Henan as well, but his family is not particularly strict with religious practice. Not being able to pass the college entrance exam in China, he went to Al-Azhar University simply out of curiosity for the outside world. Although the tuition and living expenses in Egypt are not beyond the affordability of his family, they are still a financial burden. After a few years of trying, Khalid still could not pass the Arabic language exam, let alone enter a degree program. Feeling ashamed and not wanting to return home empty handed, he decided to open a Chinese restaurant in the neighborhood of the international students dorm of Al-Azhar University. Although Khalid had not been particularly good at academic studies, he did manage his business well. Hand-pulled noodles, stir-fries and hotpots attracted many curious diners. Khalid not only earned enough profit to pay back the original financial support from his family, but also sent extra money back to Henan. However, as the Arab Spring continued, many international Muslim students – Khalid's restaurant's major cliental – left Egypt. If the political uncertainty continued, he would not be able to keep the restaurant afloat. However, if Khalid returned to China without Arabic language skills or religious training, his employment prospects would be bleak, which was the reason for him to leave in the first place. Khalid found his niche in Egypt, but his way of making a living is threatened by the political instability. To leave or to stay, that was a big question for him when I met him in July 2013.

Khalid's case is by no means unique among Sino-Muslim students at al-Azhar University. In fact, a majority of them are like him. Not being able to enter a college in China, they went to Egypt without much religious or Arabic language knowledge, or even awareness of what to expect. As a result, they needed to first take prerequisite language classes. However, as the Arabic language is very difficult, most of them cannot pass the language exam after repeated trials, which means they cannot enter the Al-Azhar University degree program either. Out of frustration or financial constraints, they drop out of school, but have managed to make the best of their experience in Egypt by finding different jobs to make a living. Some Sino-Muslim students work in marble-making, shoe-making, and plastic recycling factories. Others sell small made-in-China inexpensive products at the Khan al-Khalili market. Some even become door-to-door sales persons or tour guides. For them, Egypt has become a place of survival rather than religious learning.

Shuang WEN is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at NYU Shanghai

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1 Sino-Muslim is a term coined by scholar Jonathan Lipman in his book *Familiar Strangers* (University of Washington Press, 1997). Names of the Sino-Muslim students in this essay are not their real names.

that is in perpetual competition with a non-Muslim Chinese community over the limited economic resources, and has to survive in a context of social and cultural tension. Islamic education is like the soul of the community, binding all Muslims into a strong organization, regardless their social, economic, or political background.

Thirdly, the *qubba* (tomb of a Muslim scholar or elderly) forms the nexus of the Sufi community of Islamic Mysticism. More than one third of the Chinese Muslims are affiliated to one or another Sufi order. Many *qubbas* do not merely function as the burial places for the Sufi saints or Sufi leaders, but are places of pilgrimage for Sufi followers, turning them into a religious complex that combines the functions of a mosque, *maktab* and *madrasa,* and the tomb. The *qubba* thus plays a comprehensive role in the Sufi social network.

In conclusion, Chinese Muslims have strategically formed a religious, social, and cultural network that has made Islam in China an institutionalized entity binding the widely dispersed and ethnically diverse Muslim communities or enclaves into a considerably coherent, partly unified Muslim *umma*. Confronted with increasing Islamophobia in the wake of recent terrorist attacks around the world, these networks are crucial for the survival of a minority living in a country dominated by a culture of atheism and materialism.

Jianping WANG is Professor of Islamic Studies at Shanghai Normal University (wangjp27@shnu.edu.cn).

Above: A village mosque near Sancha Town, Xunhua Salar Autonomous County, Qinghai Province. (Aug 2011).
Below: Imam and Hui Muslims in the courtyard of Gucheng Mosque, Wuzhong City, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. (Aug 2016).
Photos by author.

CONFERENCES IN CHINA

You Must Create?

7-9 April 2016, Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong
http://acgs.uva.nl/news-and-events/news/content/2016/04/you-must-create.html

You must create – to be less bored, to be more authentic, to be free in the digital world? These questions were the linchpin of a three-day event of conferencing and site visits held early April in Hong Kong and Shenzhen.

The event took place in the historical juncture when creativity has become an imperative, when China aspires to move from a 'made in China' towards a 'created in China' country (Keane 2011), to transform creativity and culture into a crucial source for innovation and financial growth as well as part of its 'soft power' to both the citizenry as well as the outside world.

"You Must Create? Boredom, *Shanzhai* and Digitization in the Time of 'Creative China'" opened with scholarly talks and a roundtable discussion with practitioners to map out the field and major concerns of the three themes. The second day involved a site visit to the ambitious West Kowloon Cultural District, Hong Kong, where more artists, cultural administrators and government officials joined in discussions. The final day took place in different localities of Shenzhen: Wenbo Gong, a state-promoted creative district; Dafen Village, known for its fake paintings; and New-Who Art Museum, a bottom-up art village. Young researchers also reported their findings on a diversity of topics, ranging from water calligraphy, eco-documentaries, to the aesthetics of overabundance.

"You Must Create?" was jointly organized by the Amsterdam Centre of Globalization Studies, University of Amsterdam and the Department of Humanities and Creativity Writing, Hong Kong Baptist University, as part of the European Research Council funded project "From Made in China to Created in China – A Comparative Study of Creative Practice and Production in Contemporary China". The five-year project is led by Professor Jeroen de Kloet (UvA).

Explorations during the event will be organized and developed into an open source set of (audio-visual) materials, scheduled to be published by the Amsterdam University Press in the summer of 2017.

Yiu Fai Chow is assistant professor in the Humanities Program at Hong Kong Baptist University (yfchow@hkbu.edu.hk)

Jeroen de Kloet is Professor of Globalisation Studies and Director of the Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies (ACGS) at the University of Amsterdam (b.j.dekloet@uva.nl)

World Forum on China Studies

20-21 November 2015, Shanghai
www.chinastudies.org.cn/english.htm

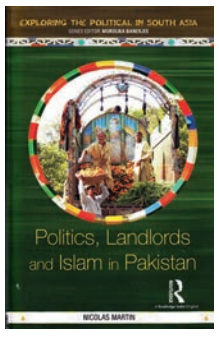
Sponsored by the State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China and the Shanghai Municipal Government, the World Forum on China Studies is a Shanghai-based biennial academic event jointly organized by the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and the Shanghai Municipal Information Office. Founded in 2004, the Forum is held every two years in Shanghai and has convened seven times including two symposiums. The Forum has served as a platform for distinguished scholars to communicate with each other and explore the past, present and future of China studies. It is also dedicated to reflecting on the state of art in the field of China Studies while fostering an informed mutual understanding between China and the world.

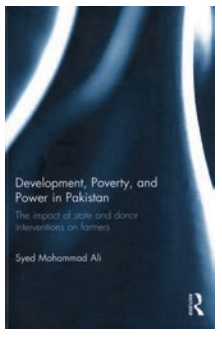
The forum has established its fame internationally in academia, with the attendance of around 1600 scholars, experts and veteran politicians from over 40 countries and regions all over the world. Meanwhile, diplomatic institutions and representatives of think tanks from more than 50 countries have participated in the Forum, which received extensive coverage by dozens of professional media outlets as well. Academic circles at home and abroad speak highly of the forum; scholars from Russia, the United States, Japan, India and other countries have widely quoted the important academic points of view proposed during the forum.
Themed "China's Reform, Opportunities for the World," the 6th World Forum on China Studies was held in Shanghai on 20-21 November 2015. Over 200 scholars and opinion-leaders of different professional specialties and cultural backgrounds discussed a range of topics on China's reform in the current global setting.

Pakistan clarified

Once a failed state, forever a failed state. That, in a rough synopsis would apply to Pakistan over the last three quarters of a century, after its independence from British India. It actually was more a secession from British India than independence from England. The separation, on the eve of independence from India, was exerted under the slogan of Muslim autonomy and safety. Behind that movement with a religious call for action, to an extent in conjunction with the colonial administration, were the big feudal lords and the high brass in the military.

Kristoffel Lieten





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Politics, Landlords and Islam in Pakistan
London and New York: Routledge
ISBN 9781138821880

Syed Mohammad Ali. 2015.
Development, Poverty, and Power in Pakistan: The Impact of State and Donor Interventions on Farmers
London and New York: Routledge
ISBN 9781138804531

THE STATE THAT EMERGED in 1947 was deficient and remained deficient in many respects. It continued to have all the ingredients of backwardness, such as low levels of industrialisation, stark poverty, mass illiteracy, a chaotic and deficient infrastructure, etc. In addition to the various interconnecting features of underdevelopment, it had two additional circumstances which would put a spanner on development and justice: the economic and political power of the landlord-military combine and the strategic role of Pakistan in the Cold War (against the Soviet Union and Afghanistan), and nowadays in the Coalition of the Willing. This Coalition induced the United States and an international consort to financially bail out and sustain the regime, however badly it managed its own affairs and its democracy. Such financial, political and military support have failed to provide the panacea to either development or a victory over 'Muslim terrorism'.

Both features of landlord power and international connivance have been addressed in two recent books, which go a big way in accomplishing the analysis of Pakistan. Scholarly studies have been few, and quite a number of them have focussed on politicking and terrorism. Nicolas Martin has

Electoral dynamics in Indonesia

This volume contains an incredibly valuable treasure trove of insights that delve beneath the legality of Indonesia's electoral system. In doing so it shines a light on the good, the bad and the ugly ways people win elections in this country. As for the good, many of the tactics and strategies deployed would be quite familiar to candidates elsewhere in the world in both new and established democracies. Building campaign teams, information networks, contact points and understanding community needs are the nuts of bolts of functioning democracies anywhere.

Kevin Evans

Reviewed title:
Edward Aspinall and Mada Sukmajati (eds). 2016.
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Singapore: NUS Press
ISBN 9789814722049

ANOTHER FEATURE of contemporary Indonesian electoral politics, noted in this volume, is that the political 'bad' of electoral violence is largely absent. Even in Aceh, a region whose people have long suffered from civil strife, levels of violence and intimidation are now declining towards the national norm. This also reminds that efforts at future electoral and wider political reform need to take account to preserve those positive factors that represent the strengths of the existing system all the while redressing those areas that are poor and in need of redress.

The volume also reveals other unusual dynamics. Most notable is mutual candidate support at different levels (from national, provincial to local) and quite intriguingly among candidates across parties but based upon other primordial affiliations that transcend partisan loyalties. This finding should beg for further research and understanding certainly by party leaders.

Indeed this issue also offers an insight into another element of the political system in Indonesia that calls for more detailed exploration, namely the very weak and frail structure and place of the political parties. Frequent references by party activists interviewed to the old Soeharto era concept of the 'floating masses' in terms of politically disconnected voters reminds us that it is actually the political parties that are floating. They are clearly unanchored from community and ultimately very vulnerable. The impact of the open list PR system on the further enfeeblement of the party system needs to be seen in the context of the wider problem of the incapacity of parties to regularise internal political competition without degenerating into monarchies or splintering into several parties. The impact of the latter has been to thwart the emergence of genuinely large parties despite all the regulatory efforts to restrict the entrance of new parties into the system.

produced an anthropological study on how control over resources, particularly land, allows the landed elites to keep the impoverished rural population under their thumb and the country poor. The result, he writes, after a careful study stretching over 25 months of field work, starting in 2001, is everyday violence and disempowerment which in turn creates a state of vulnerability and fear among the poor.

New forms in an old straightjacket

In the introduction, Martin writes: "It is a world inhabited by absentee landlords with vast estates, large retinues of servants, peasants, cattle rustlers, criminals, peasant girl mistresses and unscrupulous farm managers, bureaucrats and politicians... Their mansions in Lahore are staffed with valets, butlers, drivers, cooks, and maids, all brought from the villages on their estates. Here parties are hosted where high-ranking military officers, politicians, businessmen and civil servant gather and drink smuggled Black Label Scotch whisky. Their children study in prestigious universities in the United Kingdom and, increasingly, the United States." After such an introduction, as the entire book written in a fluid style, one could be tempted to put the book aside, for is this not the old-fashioned stuff which characterised academic research in the 1970s? One would be advised to read on, for the various chapters offer such a detailed report of what rural life really looks like, that in the end, the bottom line of the introductory statement is validated.

It is a book on the world behind the utter luxury. It questions theories such as by Anatol Lieven (*Pakistan: A Hard Country,* London: Allen Lane, 2001) that patronage mitigates poverty and exploitation and provides the impoverished population with the minimum basic needs of subsistence. It questions the benign broker status of the new rural lords whose position, rather than helping the poor getting access to the state institutions and thus contributing to democracy, impoverishes, disempowers and entangles.

The ethnography presented in the book looks at the functioning of various mechanisms, such as monopoly of resources, debt bondage, electoral politics, decentralisation of state institutions and the recourse to Islam, in the emergence of a new class of political and economic entrepreneurs from within the middle – and upper sections of the old landed class.

Doing research in such difficult, sensitive and inhospitable circumstances (in the green revolution Sargodha district, the grain 'California of Pakistan') requires the co-operation of the rich and powerful. Martin was in the lucky position that these gatekeepers provided him with all necessary support during two weekends in a month that they come down from their palaces in Lahore. The rest of the week, he could mingle with the various layers in the villages and learn the details of the local drug trading, bootlegging, buffalo theft, electricity theft, and the various forms of embezzlement of government funds. To obtain power and wealth, "people stole, killed, kidnapped, bribed, and sold adulterated goods, trafficked heroin, and engaged in bootlegging". Interestingly, the moral disorder, perceived as degradation in comparison with the earlier days, was ascribed to the entry of western social values (which to an extent goes to explain the attraction of the jihadi movements). Another explanation for the resurgence of religious adherence is being provided in the last chapter: the political recourse to Islam by the regime (and its international backers) helped to deflect the attention of people away from issues of social justice. Islamisation brought issues of moral righteousness, rather than social justice and economic development, central on the agenda. It ultimately backfired by giving birth to radical movements. It once served as a shortcut for the regime, bent on stifling economic reforms which would affect the rich.

Landlord power

Martin's book deals with some of the very essentials of village life. It explains how, despite the rapid transition to capitalist farm management, debt bondage continued to play a pivotal role in keeping labour unfree. The debt relationship binds the nominally independent workforce. Martin argues that the use of kinship ties in the servicing of debts displaces the potential class conflict onto the kinship groups and keeps the labourers divided. A minority of the poor has benefitted from post-feudalism, but the controlled access by the wealthy to public services, such as health care, housing and education, keeps the common family disempowered. The forms of patronage, it could be added, have helped the selected retinue of poor but disenfranchise the majority of poor. Landlord power is bent on blocking the emergence of impersonal governance, the rule by the canon of modern state management. This, as Max Weber had argued in the 19th century, is the pre-requisite for development.

The last chapter in Martin's book brings us close to the subject matter of the other book under review – the study of *Development, Poverty and Power in Pakistan* by Syed Mohammad Ali. It deals with market development and with devolution, designed in consultation with a variety of international aid agencies. It is considered to be the answer to the authoritarian (and failed) state from above: democratize the institutions of state by bringing them closer to the people in the localities and increase transparency, participation and accountability.

Ali also is an anthropologist but his book has many cross-linkages with political science and political economy. Chapter Three actually is political economy. It provides a short but solid brief on the changing ownership relations and the abysmally stark inequality, especially in the lower Sindh province. On the basis of macro-data, it argues along the same lines as Martin has done with his quantitative data: a nexus of dependency characterised by debt bondage and insecurity which keeps poor peasants and agricultural labourers in poverty and the country in underdevelopment.

A powerful nexus, including NGOs

Although capitalism has pervaded Pakistan, it operates through pre-capitalist forms of social organisation and state functioning. The problems which face Pakistan, Ali argues, emanate from the uneven landholding patterns which also allows a disproportionate control over state resources: "The Pakistani's state patronage of the landed rural elite not only helps them capture state resources, but to also avert reforming major causes of prevailing rural inequalities... Since donor agencies have not directly contended with altering power relations associated with landownership in rural areas, they have further enabled the capture of state-led and donor supported agricultural schemes by large landowners" (p. 22).

The book indeed addresses the question as to why – despite all the fantastic programmes that have been developed, the financial resources that went with it and the good intentions which probably many of the (international) bureaucrats in the official NGOs must have had – the results in the field have been close to null and void. The many golden bullets of the recent past, the much trumpeted Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers of the World Bank being one of them, seemingly have underwritten the golden luxury of the wealthy.

It is a grim picture of the nexus of international agencies, state institutions and NGOs. Some would argue that it is too grim a picture. It possibly is, but in that case, which other explanatory model do we have to explain for the failure as a developmental state with some measure of justice for around 200 million people?

Ali has done well in looking for some hope in the instances of resistance by Pakistan farmers. He devotes an entire chapter to it. Movements have been a frequent occurrence, but also this chapter ends in a grim mood. The only successful movements, one may add, have been the extremist Islamic organisations, but it is not quite improbable that they have some kind of commonality of interests with the elite. The Taliban anyway had been created by the United States and the then military rulers of Pakistan as the battle troops in the battle with the communist regime in Afghanistan.

Gatekeepers

Both anthropological studies are robust specimens done by scholars with their feet on the ground. Whereas Ali has interviewed a few hundred men and women over large tracts in Pakistan, Martin has been hovering around in a small area, collecting bits and pieces. Unfortunately Martin has not talked to women. He had been told that approaching them would have been "a threat to the modesty". That is very unfortunate, because Punjabi women are very outspoken and knowledgeable about gender-specific aspects. My own experience, doing field work in the area, has been that these women are very much accessible. Martin was inhibited by the fear that it would lead to gossiping, but the main reason for not talking to women independently may have been the gate keepers, the gatekeepers who, as stated earlier, had provided him magnificent channels into rural society, but who, on the other hand, obliged him not to approach the women folk.

Nevertheless, Martin's book remains a great study on the ground of a failed state. Ali's study, on the other hand, clarifies why large international aid programmes do not work.

Kristoffel Lieten, University of Amsterdam. (g.c.m.lieten@uva.nl)

Public and media attention with the great and powerful individuals who dominate their respective parties have led many to presume that parties are powerful. This volume strips such perceptions naked. The ease with which party structures are breached through cross-party alliances of candidates, the fact that candidates effectively rely on their own resources, efforts and networks, rather than party networks and resources, in addition to the electorally self-destructive conflicts among candidates, suggest the party structures are anaemic and impotent.

The key ugly issue revealed in virtually every case study was the dangerous penetration of money into electoral processes. The incentive to compete publicly with members of one's own party for votes, a practice both reflecting and causing the lack of internal party cohesion, coupled with the almost universal reference to the intensified deployment of money directly to voters in 2014, constitute challenges to the healthy consolidation of Indonesia's democratic systems.

The frequent observations that distributing money and other semi-valuable goods to voters using euphemisms and hiding behind the social legitimacy of religion and culture when doing so reflects a wider 'fog' of obscurity in Indonesia that seeks to cover the stench of corruption with the fragrance of cultural and religious legitimacy. As such it links electoral corruption with wider forms of corruption found elsewhere in Indonesia. It suggests that practitioners recognise that what they are doing is wrong, even sinful, but that they believe they can make it palatable through deploying (abusing) the legitimacy of cultural and religious symbolism. Other common refrains to emerge included the impact of incumbent candidates' access to legislated slush funds to support initiatives in their electorates. This implies a distinctly unlevel playing field among candidates.

A number of case studies presented information indicating that even where money was deployed, it was not always a guarantee of electoral success. Equally the special public funds incumbents could deploy as pork barrelling were also shown to be less than a guarantee of re-election. Many case studies suggested that this may because the candidates concerned were simply not 'professional enough' to make optimal use of these financial resources and manage networks of clientelism rather than suggesting that money as such was not enough. The wider impact of the increased resort to money to secure election victory begs the very question of who actually pays?

Since the 2014 election ever more MPs have been arrested for corruption, not from the election process as such, but rather since they have taken their seats in Parliament. The almost complete removal of public funding since 1999 has left the parties almost totally dependent for serious contributions upon the wealthiest of citizens to be viable. The 'privatisation' of electoral funding is reflected very sadly by the concept that campaign funds are not seen as contributions but rather as investments. The predominance of the logic of the market is sorely in need of redress from the nation's elite to its grass roots. Pushing back against these political investors will surely not be easy especially when a popular view from civil society in Indonesia is that public funding is a form of 'legalised corruption'.

The impact of non-transactional and microlocal factors including personal and familial connections on the potential for victory, while generally sidelined as determinants of potential success or failure, nonetheless did break through. Several writers noted that despite all the gamesmanship around the campaign period party leaders did also concede glumly a mood shift by voters. A better understanding of what leads to this shift in voter mood would be a very valuable future form of research. Comments like 'the party had long been the dominant force in local politics, and many former supporters were becoming disappointed with its performance' suggest a clear need to explore what moves voters beyond the tactics of campaign time. Could it be that voters also take account of the performance of their elected leaders and their governments in deciding how they will vote regardless of who pays them or how much? Do these members of the voting public represent a significant enough number that party leaders and incumbent MPs should actually consider their actual performance for the almost five years leading up to the campaign period?

While the studies provided sobering insights into the dynamics of the open list PR system for electing party based MPs, including women, in the House of Representatives from national to local levels, they provided essentially no information on election to the second chamber of the national Parliament, namely the House of Regional Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah). Given the exclusion of parties from that House plus the much higher levels of victory by women in the House of Regional Representatives and the operation of four-past-the-post, not PR, for election to the House of Regional Representatives, the potential for comparison and the learning of lessons that might better inform the dynamics of election to the House of Regional Representatives suggest a major opportunity was forgone.

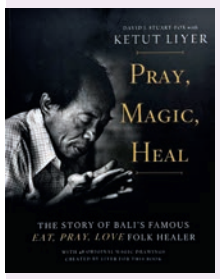
The timing of the release of this volume could hardly be better. The country will soon begin to focus on further improving its electoral systems and procedures. The detailed information provided at quite granular levels offers excellent evidence of the impact of the electoral system and of wider issues of electoral management.

Kevin Evans, Founder www.pemilu.asia. (kemitraan@hotmail.com)

From the other side of the fence[1] Two new books about Bali

One of the recurrent problems faced by producers of academic knowledge is its institutional separation from not only the people it is about, but from many of the people who would like to read it the most (try getting anything non-sensational published in the mainstream media). A converse problem is the system of institutional gatekeeping that prevents those without proper institutional credentials (implicit as well as explicit) from joining the disciplinary conversation (try getting something into an academic journal without institutional affiliation, let alone proper referencing style). Bali, because it is as popular among uncertified scholars as certified ones, and among popular readers as academic ones, is a fruitful case study for exploring these contradictions.

Graeme MacRae



Reviewed titles:
Made Wijaya. 2014.
Majapahit Style (Volume 1)
Sanur: Wijaya Words
ISBN 9786027136700

David Stuart-Fox with Ketut Liyer, edited by Charles Levine. 2015.
Pray, Magic, Heal: The Story of Bali's Famous Eat, Pray, Love Folk Healer
New York and Leiderdorp: New Saraswati Press
ISBN 9780986335105

THE MOST INTERESTING early scholarship on Bali was in fact done by gifted amateurs – expatriate artists (Miguel Covarrubias, Colin McPhee, Walter Spies), colonial administrators (e.g., F.A. Liefrinck) and eccentric escapees from the stifling normalities of European society (e.g., R. Goris). A few certified academics (Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, Jane Belo) did also produce books but ironically almost nobody reads them, then or now. Today there is a constant discourse about the multiple issues that Bali is facing, some (but not all) well-informed and thoughtful. There is also a substantial readership of expatriates and thinking tourists hungry for books which translate academic knowledge about Bali into accessible form, but relatively few books really serve this market.

Two recent books speak into this in-between market, but from outside the academic arena: *Majapahit Style* by Made Wijaya and *Pray, Magic Heal,* by David Stuart-Fox. Stuart-Fox has credentials as an academic specialist on Bali – author of a PhD thesis and definitive monograph on one of Bali's major temples Pura Besakih and as highly respected within the academy as outside it. But he prefers to downplay these credentials and his career has in fact been largely in the ill-defined borderlands of the academic world – as compiler of the definitive (pre-digital) bibliography of literature on Bali, long-serving (now retired) librarian of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden and freelance scholar writing since the 1970s on Balinese arts, religion, and culture. *Pray, Magic Heal* is written deliberately for a popular audience and its subject is a pop-culture phenomenon but it is based on decades of in-depth research.

The second author, Made Wijaya, died, suddenly, unexpectedly and tragically, between the writing and publication of this review, which now takes on an element of obituary. He was a veteran of the expatriate community in Bali, tropical landscape designer extraordinaire, one-man multimedia production machine and much more. His book masquerades as a picture book about 'style', and wields its erudition lightly, but it is actually a contribution to the study of Javo-Balinese history that deserves to be taken seriously, not least for its innovative methodological approach to interpretation of cultural transmission.

Both authors are gifted and well-qualified amateurs (in the original sense of the term) speaking over the fence. But who is listening? To date I can find no reviews of either in scholarly journals and only one of each in other media. This is a loss for us all, on both sides of the fence. In my discipline (anthropology) we frequently bemoan our failure to communicate our (usually inherently interesting) knowledge to non-specialist audiences and I understand it is so in other disciplines. Likewise, scholars outside the academic system have real difficulty getting their (sometimes very well-informed) views heard within the circuits of academic discourse. Some of this fence is structural – a system of academic recognition that increasingly privileges sophisticated (i.e., theoretically framed) and accountable 'academic' values over more everyday ones of readability and accessibility, and in effect becomes a system of gatekeeping. Likewise the mainstream media are, in my experience, surprisingly resistant to contributions of academic knowledge unless they happen to address the sensational issue du jour. But some of it is also habitual and often it becomes easier not to try.

The result is that we are all the poorer – on both sides of the fence. These two books remind us of a greater mission for which we all have some responsibility and that we lose sight of at our peril, especially in a time when universities are, ironically calling for our research to be more relevant and publically accessible as exemplified by the growing media genre of (sometimes well-informed) 'science journalism'.

Majapahit Style

Wijaya was perhaps the best known of the talented expatriates who arrived in Bali in the 1960s and 70s, many of whom have lived there ever since. In addition to his day job as a designer of spectacular and romantic gardens for hotels across Asia, he was a one-man multimedia factory – producing an endless stream of photographs, videos, cultural commentaries, and public satires, much of it cleverly disguised as social gossip. Among all of this he has consistently studied and analysed Balinese architecture and developed a series of arguments about its structural, spatial and aesthetic principles and practices. *Majapahit Style (Volume 1)* is the latest chapter in this opus magnum, expanding his thinking about Balinese architecture to, but also from, its historical origins in neighbouring Java and beyond.

Majapahit Style presents itself, I suspect somewhat tongue-in-cheek, as yet another offering in the glossy coffee-table book genre of (this or that) style. But what it represents is the fruit of decades of research, exploring, documenting and reflecting on architectural, aesthetic and ritual practices, first in Bali, then across Indonesia and further across Southeast-, South- and East Asia. The resulting text moves across time and space and between anecdote and analysis, expert opinions and personal ones, assertions and speculations, but between them is a thread of argument, not always explicit, but recurring and systematic: that while the direct evidence of Majapahit material culture, especially architecture, has largely disappeared from its historical heartland, it lives on in the material design heritages of other places and times – spread across the archipelago and especially in Bali, where aspects of it survive in living traditions of aesthetic and ritual practice. This argument is implicit in the structure of the book, which moves historically from earliest to latest manifestations

Images of the Canton factories

The port city of Canton (now Guangzhou), China, served as a vital hub in the early phase of modern global trade. In the 18th century, numerous European companies set up shop in the designated foreign quarter of factories and warehouses. Like their peers around the world, Chinese artists adapted quickly to the sweeping social, economic, and aesthetic changes wrought by these mercantile aspirations on a world scale. The resulting artworks – often labeled as 'export art' – have long been characterized by art historians as inauthentically hybrid, and thus not deserving of scholarly attention. As a broad category, export art encompasses a great diversity of objects made by artists throughout China in a variety of styles and mediums. These include paintings, fans, textiles, decorative and utilitarian ceramics, lacquer ware, and much more.

Hope Marie Childers

Reviewed title:
Paul A. Van Dyke and Maria Kar-wing Mok. 2015.
Images of the Canton Factories 1760–1822: Reading History in Art
Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press
ISBN 9789888208555

THIS OBJECT-ORIENTED VOLUME, co-authored by Paul Van Dyke and Maria Kar-wing Mok, examines representations of Canton via a specific type of Chinese export art, using fresh eyes and new angles. Bookended by an introduction and conclusion, the volume consists of nine chapters: six are chronological surveys, each spanning approximately a decade; the remainder consist of thematic analysis. The introduction provides a succinct history of the founding of Canton's European merchant district, beginning with the construction of China Street in 1760 (p. xx). The study concludes with the years preceding the Great Fire of 1822, when the entire quarter of factories burned down, thus changing the landscape forever.

The authors train their lens on painted panoramas of the Canton factories, specifically those found on porcelain punchbowls and on two-dimensional surfaces, from small gouache panels to large canvases in oil. Their objective, as referenced in the book's subtitle, is 'reading history through

of Majapahit architecture, expands geographically across the vast region of Majapahit influence and architecturally across forms, elements and local aesthetic traditions. The argument is supported, and indeed most compellingly made, by a primary visual text of photographs, maps and drawings, juxtaposing similarities of form, colour and decoration, materials, methods, and names.

Embedded in this empirical argument is a methodological one, perhaps even more important for academic consideration, of the provocative power of comparison of spatial organisation, structural form and especially aesthetic style as a method of analysis across time, space and even cultural transformation. Recognising the evidence of Majapahit culture and interpreting it through the lens of contemporary Balinese architecture and ritual was the starting point of this work, but its systematic expansion into a comparative method is what makes this work compelling.

I will not be surprised if historians and architectural scholars find plenty to disagree with here, but to date there is no evidence of them having read, let alone reviewed it. I'll leave them to assess the historical veracity of Wijaya's evidence or its intersections with the established corpus of Majapahit scholarship, but I think any criticisms in terms of deficits of certified academic practice miss the point, both of its vast empirical sweep and its methodological innovation.

Pray, Magic, Heal

This is an unusual book, 45 years in the making and unavoidably entwined with its (in)famous twin *Eat, Pray, Love,* but it is not what the title might suggest. Stuart-Fox is another of the extraordinary generation of dedicated Bali scholars who lived in Bali through the 1970s and 80s, became fluent in local languages and for whom deep research into Balinese culture was not a job but a way of life. He knew Ketut Liyer long before his dubious fame through the *Eat, Pray, Love* book/film phenomenon. At this time Liyer was just one of hundreds of *balian* [priest/healer/seer] in villages across Bali. But he was a good one and also a painter of some repute. Because of this and his proximity to the culturally/spiritually oriented tourist centre of Ubud, foreigners began seeking his services in the 1990s and in 2002 Elizabeth Gilbert was just another foreign client. But her book changed his life forever and from 2005 onward he received and counselled a constant stream of foreigners. He charged for these services, considerably more than for his local clientele, and his family prospered as a result. Opinion is divided as to the genuineness of the advice he provided to foreigners and also as to his motivation in doing this work.

But that is not what the book is about. The first chapter relates some of this story briefly, but the majority of it is based on conversations between Liyer and Stuart-Fox, mainly during the 1970s and 80s, in which Liyer outlines the theory and method of his practice. The result is a very readable account, quite personal in a way, through which we gradually get to know both Liyer the man and the nature of his practices and the beliefs embedded in them.

This book belongs on the same shelf as the Jero Tapakan films by Linda Connor and Tim Asch, Barbara Lovric's work on magic and healing, Angela Hobart's on healers and Hildred Geertz's final books about paintings, temples and artists. They all take us deep into the heart of real grass-roots Balinese spiritual belief and practice, often obscured behind the spectacular beauty of temple ritual and the increasingly banal and sanitised simplifications of official, universalised 'Hinduism'. This is a domain of powerful and potentially dangerous forces, embodied in a range of (usually) invisible beings who need to be placated and managed or sometimes fought and defeated by magical tools and techniques at the disposal of a skilled practitioner. Liyer, notwithstanding the somewhat bizarre distortions of his later career, was for many years a genuine practitioner of these arts. The successive chapters of the book take us through Liyer's repertoire of tools and techniques – meditation and mantras, holy water and incense, magical objects, drawings and sashes. These are described and explained in considerable detail, often including normally secret mantras and instructions and reproductions of magical drawings. The book is generously illustrated with these drawings and photographs and like *Majapahit Style,* these are more than just illustrations, they are an equal part of the text.

What makes this book work, is that Stuart-Fox resists the (academic) temptation to over-interpret and tell us how or what to think about Liyer – despite 40 years' experience and insight into Balinese culture, he steps back and lets Liyer speak for himself, allowing us to make what we will of the imperfect, improvised ordinariness of Balinese healing, but without denying the magic and mystery of it. The Liyer we meet in these pages is neither mystic, magician nor religious scholar, let alone celebrity – he is more like a village craftsman, working with a limited kit of practical tools and a disarming awareness of the limitations of his understanding of the powers behind both sickness and healing. My only disappointment was not learning what he really thought about his later years.

Ways of knowing Bali

Both these books tell us something about Bali: one unpacking a one-man pop-culture phenomenon and informing our (mis) understanding by relocating him, by way of biography, back into the tradition from which he was plucked by international celebrity culture. In the process, the reader is educated, gradually and accessibly, into the workings of Balinese ritual, healing and artistic practice. The other (by a one-man pop-culture phenomenon) works at a different level, addressing one of the biggest themes in Southeast Asian history, but by way of an innovative approach, largely self-taught and pursued and expressed with an infectious exuberance. Both are well-written and easy to read, but in both cases, much of the work is done by visual means.

It is, I think, no coincidence that both authors are veterans of the expatriate scene of the 1970s, which in some respects more resembled the golden age of Baliphilia of the 1930s than the present and before Bali was transformed, as one of them put it, "from a user-friendly magic kingdom into a high-density Paradise theme park"[2] in the 1990s (and something else again since then). This was an extraordinary period in which a loose community of talented and dedicated foreigners immersed themselves into local community and culture. Many of them, like their predecessors in the 1930s, straddled the fence, producing books (Diana Darling), photography (Leonard Lueras)[3] and films (Lawrence and Lorne Blair, John Darling) which have proven classics in contemporary academic understandings of Bali. Some of them moved deeper into local Balinese worlds by way of marriage (e.g. Rucina Ballinger) and engagement with their local commu-nities (Garret Kam). Others (e.g. Michel Picard) crossed the fence into academia from where they continued to provide some of the most insightful studies of Balinese culture. Since then, both expatriate and scholarly engagements with Bali have moved on, the former away from local community and culture into a generic expatriate community that could almost be anywhere in the world; the latter toward more circumscribed and specialised studies based on much shorter (and I fear sometimes shallower) periods of research.

Stuart-Fox and Wijaya both had the privilege of living and working in Bali at this time, and since then have had successful careers in other fields, but both have chosen to honour and repay these privileges with books that are simultaneously serious contributions to Bali studies and effective translations of expert knowledge about into accessible form. One is a model for bringing academic knowledge to a wider readership, the other offering deeply grounded knowledge to the academy for us to engage with. We have something to learn from them both – about Bali and about the way we share our knowledge and understanding.

Graeme MacRae, Massey University. (g.s.macrae@massey.ac.nz)

References

1 Fences are a common metaphor in antipodean cultures such as Australia, where both authors and the reviewer originate, but are perhaps less familiar to European readers. They refer to borders and boundaries between places and spaces, in this case the well-guarded ones between academic and popular knowledges. A Balinese cognate would be the pervasive *tembok* [masonry walls] that mark divisions between domestic and public, sacred and profane places/spaces.

2 Roberts, Scott. 1995. Introduction. In: Wijaya, Made. *Stranger in Paradise: The Diary of an Expatriate in Bali 1979-80.* Sanur: Wijaya Words.

3 Rio Helmi is absent from this list, only because he occupies a special place between the expat and local worlds – another fence.

art'. This is achieved using a kind of dialogical method: close scrutiny of archival sources enables the authors to weave an intricate chronology of each European company's presence and activity in Canton, depending on the waxing and waning of their commercial fortunes. As Van Dyke and Mok suggest: "This ongoing rivalry between Europeans – combined with the Hong merchants' willingness to make the changes they wanted so long as they paid the costs – resulted in the gradual transformation of the landscape" (p. 12). In turn, that shifting panorama of factories and warehouses along the quayside can be recognized in visual form on pots and paintings.

The study is distinguished by two fresh approaches brought to bear on the many portraits of China Street and its shifts over time. The first is their painstaking cross-referencing of logistical minutiae gleaned from the archives against close observation of fine details in the artworks. Careful observation of painted elements confirm that numerous scenes serve as fairly reliable documentary evidence of the district's transformation over time. Grounded in this method, Chapters 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, and 8 offer meticulously sourced narratives, visual and textual, of the factories. The list of aspects that the authors consider is impressive: the construction/alteration of buildings; architectural features; interventions by key personnel; increase in rents (affecting occupancy); the presence (or absence) of national flags; seasonal clues; scale and perspective; the impact of fires. Moreover, they have cross-referenced their analysis with colonial-era maps to corroborate their findings.

Equipped with such detail, the authors posit a more precise dating of the painted scenes than previously possible. This matters, they argue, because the factory portraits are a category apart from ordinary export art "such as Chinese life scenes, landscapes, daily activities and images of plants and animals" (p. xxi). Rather, they suggest that "factory paintings were a type of historical record that buyers wanted to display in their homes to represent their experience in China" (p. xxi). As such, customers expected a certain level of verisimilitude and a recognizable sense of place in these souvenir objects.

This understanding paves the way for the volume's second notable contribution: Chapters 3 and 5 offer brief analyses of the technical circumstances behind the production of the porcelain bowls and the paintings, revealing key disparities between the two mediums. For example, the punchbowls are characterized by far less accuracy in rendering a particular moment in time than are the paintings. This may be due partly to their manufacture in pottery centers at some distance from the site, or because the patronage and sales practices demanded more flexibility in content for these utilitarian objects (p. 23-7).

In contrast, the paintings are shown to be highly reliable in their representations of narrow, identifiable slices of time in Canton's history. Further, though the paintings are often extremely similar, no two are alike, as artists avoided the use of templates or direct copying methods (p. 22). Indeed, the uniqueness of each painting serves to dispel the commonplace claim that Chinese artists were merely skilled copyists. Most engaging is the Chapter 5 discussion about the skilled use of vantage point and perspective by the artists to emphasize a distinct set of aesthetic and compositional values. The authors assert that "rather than inferring an ignorance of 'Western' perspective, the Chinese artists' work unveils their knowledge of indigenous Chinese ideas of perspective" (p. 49). They provide details of factory paintings on maps, silk, and reverse painting on glass as examples to demonstrate the influence of multiple perspectives as used in traditional scroll painting.

The result is an interdisciplinary volume that closely entwines object histories and archival context, thus elevating it above the descriptive, evaluative literature of connoisseurship so common to this era of art production. It furthermore stretches trade and economic histories beyond their usual boundaries, to encompass cultural expression.

The shortcomings of the book are minor. A number of passages make for rather dry reading, an unavoidable trade-off for a factually dense, detailed chronicle. Another quibble is the lack of a list of illustrations and no page references in the majority of captions. These omissions diminish the ability to enter the volume via the artworks themselves – surely a standard starting point for most readers, especially artists, art historians, collectors, and the like. Rather, the arrangement requires readers to access the images through a mostly linear path through the text itself (which does provide Plate- and Figure-numbers). This discourages casual browsing, ultimately limiting its audience.

The book's many strengths include its well-ordered and comprehensive bibliography, an appendix indexing primary sources pertaining to early company movements, and scrupulously cited detail. The authors mine data from not only the usual colonial-era archives (i.e. British and French), but under-utilized collections in Denmark, Sweden, and Belgium, as well as Chinese-language sources newly available online. While not a theory-driven study of the genre, this extensively illustrated (100 color plates and 32 black and white figures), fact-rich analysis will serve as a vital reference for specialist scholars, such as collectors of Chinese export art of the period and historians of global trade in the early colonial era. It should also have broader appeal among art historians, who have taken greater interest, of late, in such popular, but non-traditional forms. The hallmark of such art is its fast-moving fusion of varied interests, styles, mediums, and markets. Historically, this cross-cultural hybridity has been viewed with skepticism, yet it seems that scholars of Chinese art history are beginning to acknowledge this intriguing and vital – if undervalued – stage in China's formidable aesthetic legacy.

Hope Marie Childers, New York State College of Ceramics at Alfred University. (childers@alfred.edu)

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ICAS 10 in Chiang Mai, Thailand, 2017, will host our first ever Book Fair, focused on Asian studies publications. The ICAS Asian Studies Book Fair will not only provide a platform for books in the English language, but also in Chinese, French, German, and Korean, to reflect those additional languages now eligible for the ICAS Book Prize. It will be the perfect showcase for all your Asian studies publications.

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Deadline for individual abstract submission: 30 Nov 2016

Information: www.icts13.chiangmai.cmu.ac.th

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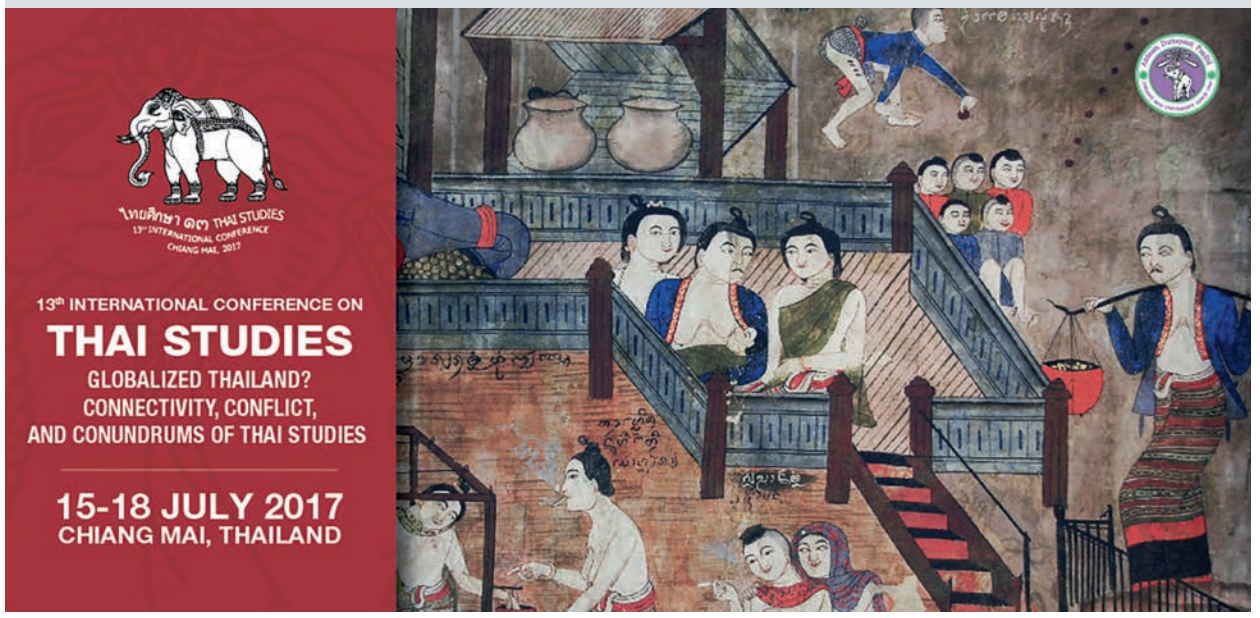

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Contextualizing language and ethnicity in the study of Burma

Burma and ethnicity tend to be closely associated in people's minds when thinking about the diversity of the country, or when analyzing the conflicts there, many of which have yet to be resolved. Ethnicity forms such a naturalized part of the intellectual landscape dealing with the country that few have stopped to consider its complex relationship with language. The decades-long closure of the country means that the ideas of earlier scholarship still continue to hold powerful sway. With new possibilities for travel and research inside, thanks to the political changes starting in 2010, foreign researchers have recently been able to move around more in the country, to observe patterns of language-use, and to speak with people about their thoughts concerning their own identities. This special issue moves forward a long-stalled reconsideration to argue that the relationship between language, ethnicity, and identity in Burma is not necessarily timeless, a given, or set in stone. Rather, language may be one element informing an ongoing process and negotiation that various groups engage in to define themselves in relation to others.

Patrick McCormick

Burmese youth. Image reproduced under a creative commons license courtesy of Thaths on flickr.

Palaung Woman. Image reproduced under a creative commons license courtesy of Fabulousfabs on flickr.

Contextualizing language and ethnicity in the study of Burma *continued*

Burma and Burma Studies

Burma is open for business. Recent changes in government have meant positive developments for those doing research in and about the country. While some foreign researchers already found ways to do research inside in the 1990s, it was not until the early 2000s that greater numbers started to arrive. Even if many of the technical difficulties and restrictions, such as obtaining long-term visas or access to areas outside major cities, still remain in place or are only gradually beginning to ease, more people inside the Burmese system may be embracing the idea of openness, change, and possibility. Just in the past few years, an ever-growing number of scholars and researchers have been spending time in the country.

Moving intellectual conversations forward in the study of Burma has been a slow process, and it is worth reviewing how this came to be. For decades, Burma Studies mostly fell off everyone's radars. Before WWII, much of the scholarship related to Burma was the work of scholar-officials of the British colonial administration, including historian D.G.E. Hall, J.S. Furnivall, and archaeologist-art historian-linguist Gordon Luce, and their Burmese protégés, such as Taw Sein Ko, Pe Maung Tin, and Htin Aung. After WWII (followed by independence in 1948), several foreign researchers conducted fieldwork through the early 1960s, and some of the resulting scholarship remains influential even today, such as the work of anthropologist Melford Spiro.

When U Ne Win came to power in 1962, he effectively shut the country off from the outside world, and access for foreigners was tightly restricted. Many scholars who had intended to study Burma chose alternative research sites, although others tried to study the country by proxy by doing research among cross-border communities who either lived on both sides of the Thai-Burma border, or had moved to Thailand to escape conflict inside Burma. Research on Shans, Mons, Akha and some other upland groups falls into this category. Few of those researchers spoke Burmese or had much direct experience with the country, so that it was difficult for them to place their observations in a larger Burmese – as opposed to Thai – context. Finally, there were some scholars, such as historians Victor Lieberman and Michael Aung-Thwin, and the political scientist Robert Taylor, who were either able to negotiate access to the country or the nature of their work allowed them to make use of documents and other sources available outside of the country.

This decades-long, near-total hiatus in research and scholarship has put Burma Studies in a rather different situation than found in other nearby countries. Scholarship on Thailand or Indonesia, for example, is now in its third or greater generation, meaning that much of the earliest scholarship produced – during the colonial period or contact with the west – has been reexamined, built upon, rethought or discarded. Next door in India, generations of local and international scholars have engaged in lively debates to rethink much of the received wisdom on the Subcontinent. These efforts have included projects of intellectual decolonization.

In Burma Studies, however, the earliest classical scholarship of the colonial era (and just after) is still highly important, simply because there have been so few scholars to revisit it. In many fields, vast amounts of primary sources have yet to be properly processed. In history, for example, primary sources in Burmese, Pāli, and local languages have yet to be read and catalogued, much less annotated or analyzed. Within Burma itself, early colonial work has come to define how Burmese understand themselves, not to mention how they practice academia.

From an institutional perspective, universities throughout the world offer some support to Burma Studies, most importantly the Center for Burma Studies at Northern Illinois University, which opened in the 1980s. While the Center is a huge boon for Burma Studies, throughout the rest of North America, Europe, Australia and Japan, faculty working on Burma-related topics, not to mention actually offering instruction in the Burmese language, have been all too few and far between, especially in comparison with Indonesian, Thai, or Vietnamese. Now, however, Burma Studies are finally moving forward, with new researchers working on Burma-related topics. Within Burma itself, opportunities impossible even just a few years ago are slowly emerging, such as working with local universities and faculty. In 2015, a foreign student studying anthropology was allowed to spend time in a Burmese village, something which, as far as I know, has not happened since the 1950s.

Towards the future

The most recent change of government may bring about many positive changes. Over the next several decades, the economic and political situation may foster much greater prosperity. The brain drain may reverse, or at least be stemmed, and educated people may start to see the possibility of having the kind of life they want inside the country. As has happened in India with the rise of the middleclass, there may be a greater demand for the use of local languages, even in higher education.

Thongchai Winichakul has written of 'home scholars' to talk of Thais educated abroad, but who write or produce in Thai, with local audiences in mind.[1] While home scholars may now be a common feature of the Thai intellectual landscape, they have only recently begun to appear in Burma. One such appearance is in the burgeoning Burmese-language print media, which is thriving after censorship restrictions were eased. The numbers of such home scholars may continue to grow and acquire a greater voice. The possibilities for genuine collaboration and collegiality between foreign and local researchers may also grow. In the Philippines and Singapore, such academic collaboration between colleagues has been possible. These two advances have obvious links with language: the possibility of a genuine Burmese-language intellectual milieu developing, while at the same time, having the self-confidence and English-language skills to engage with international scholars. Or, as in Japan and increasingly in Thailand and elsewhere, providing foreigners with opportunities and incentives for learning the local language.

I would like to end on a final note of caution with regard to what may be a form of narcissism: the assumption that once Burma improves its educational system its intellectual ideas will be similar to those of the West. Today, many Burmese speak of education in the country as having fallen behind or having been cut off from the rest of the world, and as needing to catch up. Outsiders voice similar sentiments, speaking for example of how old-fashioned ideas have lingered in the country, or how academia is in a 'time warp'. It would be dangerous, however, to think that as more Burmese are educated in universities with better resources and teaching methods, that their research interests or perspectives will become 'just like ours'.

Below: Market in Dawei/Tavoy. Image reproduced under a creative commons license courtesy of Prachatai on flickr.

To illustrate, we can return to the example of Thailand. Even though Thais have been exposed to western-style education and ideas for decades, many Thai research agendas reflect local perspectives and interests. Research in history, for example, is very much informed by the royalist-nationalist school of historiography taught in schools. History is a good example of differences in what is at stake depending on whether one is embedded in local, national intellectual worlds, or writing as an international scholar. For local scholars, history is deeply imbricated in ideas about the self and identity, which are taught early on. Many are reluctant to allow the interpretation of 'our' past to fall into the hands of outsiders. International scholars, however, tend to see questions of history in abstract ways and engage in conversation more with each other than with local audiences. More importantly, the way they deal with the topic – supposedly in 'objective' or 'scientific' ways – may ride rough over cherished local interpretations and ideologies.

Language does not always equal ethnicity

I am happy to bring together the work of several scholars who have been working on questions of language, script, ethnicity and identity in Burma. This collection comes out of the Language, Power, and Identity in Asia conference, which the IIAS held in Leiden in March of this year. If there is one question that unites these papers, it is one of 'origins'. Ethnic names and categories have such a solidity in Burma, and indeed ethnicity and 'difference' have long been both a cause and consequence of conflict and violence. In discussing their research topics, each author teases out strands from the solid-seeming categories of ethnicity and language. Tug on Palaung scripts and language, and we find Shan models and vocabulary. Pull at Kachin, and we find that not all of the groups under the label necessarily think of themselves as belonging there. Yet we find that linguistically some of the core Kachin groups share features among each other, but not with either their neighbours or with their closest linguistic relatives. Aspects of Shan reflect contact with Burmese, while the names for the Burmese dialects have changed and shifted over time. The sounds of some of the Burmese dialects reflect contact with speakers of surrounding languages, as over time they have shifted their own language and identities.

In bringing these contributions together, I hope to bring some nuance to conversations about language, ethnicity, and identity. I would like to foster disciplinary border crossing. As someone who has worked both as a linguist and as a historian, I have seen how historians struggle to understand linguistic concepts, and linguists often use historical writing uncritically to interpret linguistic data. When talking about language-contact or multilingualism, non-specialists often think this results in a language meltdown, with people speaking 'pidgins' and 'creoles'. The contributors to this Focus section provide concrete examples of what actually does happen – how speakers of one language replicate the words and grammar of another – while describing the context of hierarchy in which these replications occur.

Looking at how speech communities stand in relation to each other, how those positions can shift over time, and how the communities themselves change over time, all gives us some insight into how definitions of language and ethnicity are processes with a time depth. In revisiting and rethinking some of these ideas, or looking into the evolution of languages and scripts, we recognize that even if categories of language and identity are in some sense constructed, they still have a reality and a vital importance to the people to whom they belong.

Our contributors are affiliated with institutions in Switzerland and Japan. Jenny, McCormick, Müller and Weymuth are all at the Department of Comparative Linguistics at the University of Zurich, where we have been working on a project funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation on the history of language contact in what we call the 'Greater Burma Zone', which we understand as Burma, but in a looser way than the current political boundaries. Cultural and religious networks have also connected peoples in what is now Burma, with parts of Northeast India, Bangladesh, Yunnan, and northern Thailand. Badenoch, Imamura, Kojima and Kurabe are linguists, anthropologists, and geographers doing trans-disciplinary studies at Japanese institutions. Much of the Burma-related work coming out of Japanese universities is not well known in English, which is particularly regrettable in that Japanese scholars place particular emphasis on the importance of long-term fieldwork.

All of us would like to thank the countless number of local people in Burma and elsewhere who have worked with us and given us support in so many ways. The Greater Burma Zone project would also like to gratefully acknowledge the help and participation of the Anthropology Department of Mandalay University.

Names, spellings, classifications

The authors in each of their contributions have followed their own spellings and used terms related to the names of countries, ethnic groups, and languages in their own way. This diversity reflects the fact that knowledge related to the country is still emerging and in process, without any kind of definitive consensus. Badenoch, Kojima and Weymuth each classify varieties of the Palaung languages differently. Some authors have used the term 'Myanmar', while others prefer 'Burma'. The term 'Myanmar' in English merges together language, people, and country, and its spelling reflects an attempt to represent the sounds of British English, hence the spelling with a final -r. The change from 'Burma' to 'Myanmar' affects only English, and no other language (French, Thai, or the indigenous languages of Burma other than Burmese) has been forced to modify their usage.

Patrick McCormick, Researcher, Department of Comparative Linguistics, University of Zürich, and École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Yangon (mccormick.efeo@gmail.com)

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The Newsletter | No.75 | Autumn 2016

Tai identity in Myanmar and beyond

The Shan of northern Myanmar speak a language of the Tai-Kadai family found from southern China, across Mainland Southeast Asia, through northern Myanmar and into Northeast India. Names connected with the Shan give us some insight into the historical range and connections between speakers of Shan and its relatives. 'Shan' itself is a Burmese name related to the old name for Thailand, 'Siam', and the second syllable in the name Assam of Northeast India and the 'Ahom', a Tai-speaking people after whom Assam is ultimately named. The Shans call themselves 'Tai', as do speakers of many related languages.

Mathias Jenny

Above: Author with two Shan women, Anisakhan, January 2016.

AS A LINGUISTIC AND HISTORICAL TERM, 'Tai' refers to a branch of the Tai-Kadai family, while 'Thai' refers specifically to the language of Thailand. Widespread as the Tai-Kadai family is, only two languages have official status as national languages: Thai in Thailand and Lao in Laos. Depending on the definition, many peoples, languages and scripts may fall under the term 'Shan', but here I just consider the largest language and script of Burma. Today Shan is a medium of instruction in informal and monastic education, although there is pressure on the central government to change its decades-old policy of only allowing Burmese to be used in government schools. Shan has been a literary medium for a few centuries, for both religious and secular texts. There are a few different writing systems that have been used for Shan, but the most widespread has been in use for centuries, although it was modified to represent all the sounds of the language only in the late 1960s. Today a substantial number of books and journals are published regularly in Shan, together with online magazines and newspapers.

Before being firmly attached to the Burmese state through British colonial policies, Shan speakers in the language's many varieties tended to live in the valleys of the uplands throughout northern Myanmar (what is now Shan State, parts of Kachin State, and parts of Sagaing and Magwe Regions), where they tended to be at the top of the local sociolinguistic hierarchy. The traces of Shan on other languages, and their traces of influence on Shan, tell us about the history of relations between these groups, and something about their relative positions in terms of prestige and hierarchy. Relatedly, we find that even today, in the age of ethnicity and nationalist logic, not just speakers of Tai languages, but sometimes even speakers of Austroasiatic languages consider themselves 'Tai' or 'Shan'. The Tai Loi, for example, consider themselves Shan but still speak their Austroasiatic language at home. Such situations give us insights into the process of language-spread and historical identity formation not only in Myanmar, but places like Laos and Vietnam where similar conditions exist.

Forging an ethnicity through language and history

Today many Shans understand themselves, and their position in relation to their neighbors, through ideas that developed during the nineteenth century. At that time, Siamese intellectuals created a narrative of the origins of the Thai people in response to expanding European colonialism in Southeast Asia. They based this account mainly on western ideas and sources, including the travelogues of European missionaries and traders. Some traced the history of the Thai and Tai peoples back to Central Asia, from where the Tai migrated into Sichuan and Yunnan, where they established the Nanzhao (Nan Chao) kingdom in the eighth and ninth centuries AD. When Mongol troops invaded in the twelfth century, the Tai were pushed further into the Southeast Asian mainland, where they split and became the Shan, the Lao, and Thais, some with their own kingdoms.

This narrative lacks historical and linguistic evidence to support it, and in fact there is much evidence contradicting it. Recent scholarship has revised the dates of the Nanzhao kingdom and has shown that the main body of people spoke a Tibeto-Burman language. Nevertheless, this narrative remains the standard, official view of Thai history in Thailand, and has proven successful in building national pride both among the Thais and among speakers of related languages. Thailand's Tai-speaking neighbors have a complex relationship with Thailand, but nevertheless see Thai ideas as model.

Until the final Anglo-Burman war in 1885, the Shans had lived in small principalities with allegiances to the Burmese court, China, and sometimes other powerful neighbors. The British allowed these principalities to retain their traditional leaders, the cao pha [lords of the sky] (or *sawbwa* in Burmese), a privilege they kept during the first decade after independence in 1948 (Supposedly fearing the disintegration of the country, the Ne Win government finally abolished *sawbwa* rule in the 1960s). With their close incorporation into Burma, many Shans resisted and resented first the close association with Burma and thereafter direct Burmese rule.

Shan elites sought to write a Shan history independent of Burma, Burmese institutions, or if possible Burmese connections. Ready-made narratives from the neighboring Thais were useful in this process. No doubt they saw being part of a larger Tai nation as preferable to being part of a Burman-led Burmese nation.

Shan in relation to other languages: Shan as a donor

Pshan language is widespread in Shan State and neighboring areas, including a sizeable Shan community in Thailand. For political, social, and economic reasons, its use is weak in some formerly Shan-dominated places, such as Taunggyi, the capital of Shan State. By law, Burmese is the sole official language of the country (although the government also makes extensive use of English), so that Burmese tends to compete with, if not always displace, other languages in the cities. Furthermore, sizeable numbers of people of Burmese, Chinese, and Indian and descent live in Taungyi (as in most other capitals of the ethnic states), all of whom tend to use Burmese.

Even if the position of Shan language and culture is not quite as extensive today as it once was, the numerous Shan loanwords in smaller languages, such as Palaung and Pa-O, show the historical dominance of Shan. Speaking generally, social relations between speakers of various languages, and the position of given groups in a hierarchy (that is, which languages and associated cultures have greater prestige and power), have a direct influence on the outcomes of language contact. Languages in a lower position in the language hierarchy generally replicate the *matter* (words) and *patterns* (grammar and syntax) of languages in a higher position. In the Palaung and Pa-O languages, even numerous words for everyday objects and activities come from Shan.

The exact phonetic shape of Shan loanwords in these languages tells us something of the history and timing of when these words were borrowed, hence revealing how long speakers of the various languages have been in contact. We know that a wave of sound changes swept through many of the languages of Southeast Asia, perhaps beginning as early as the thirteenth century. One aspect was that such voiced initial sounds as /g ɟ d b v z/ became voiceless /k c t p f s/. Shan has undergone this change, but Hsam Long (Shwe) Palaung has not. The fact that some Shan loanwords in Hsam Long preserve the old sounds suggests that they entered the language quite early on. The Hsam Long word *ɟɔm* [follow] apparently reflects an earlier Shan pronunciation *ɟɔm, now *cɔ́m* in modern Shan. Other loans, however, are more similar to modern Shan, suggesting more recent borrowings. For example, Palaung pɛ [be able], is nearly identical to modern Shan pê [win, able], which comes from a Tai root, *bɛ́[1] Another interesting example is the Palaung word rɔt, meaning 'arrive', which in modern Shan is hɔt. We know that the sound /r/ has changed to /h/ in languages like Shan and Lao (although the sound is preserved in Thai), and so this loan must date from before that sound shift happened.

Although lexical influence from Shan is strong in Palaung, we cannot detect much structural borrowing, probably because of the typological closeness of the two languages. One possibility is the use of the third person plural pronoun ('they') to make nouns plural. Palaung *pjɐ̀ːr-ge* [bees], literally 'bee + they', is an obvious calque of Shan *pʰɯŋ kʰěw,* meaning the same thing.

Shan vocabulary also shows up in languages outside of present-day Shan-speaking areas, suggesting the power of the language to reach beyond where its speakers are, or perhaps a wider sphere of influence in the past. In Jinghpaw, for example, Shan loans are found throughout the language, including everyday vocabulary. As other authors in this Focus discuss, Jinghpaw itself is a dominant language in Kachin State and functions as lingua franca.

The large number of Shan loans, together with the absence of Jinghpaw elements in Shan, show that Shan was dominant over Jinghpaw at least at some point in the past, even in areas where Shan has long ceased to be spoken. As in Palaung, Shan loans into Jinghpaw form layers of borrowing, in some cases combining elements of the two. In the word for 'coconut',

Above: Map of Tai land (in Shan).

Below: Shan School children. Image reproduced under a creative commons license courtesy of the European Commission on flickr.

mă-un si, the mă part represents the Shan generic term *màk* [fruit] and the Shan pronunciation of an earlier Burmese loan *ʔòun* [coconut], here combined with Jinghpaw si [fruit]. Jinghpaw and Shan have a different 'constituent order', referring to the ordering of words in a sentence. Shan, like Thai and English, has subject-verb-object order, while Jinghpaw, like Burmese (and Turkish and Japanese), has subject-object-verb order. This difference has implications for how compounds are formed. Some Shan loanwords have been rearranged to follow Jinghpaw order: the Shan expression for 'food market', *kàt kʰew* (literally 'market + food') has been switched to form Jinghpaw *khau kat*. Other words are kept just as in Shan, although the sounds are adopted to Jinghpaw. The Shan word for 'oil', *nêm mén* (literally 'liquid + fat'), is *nam man* in Jinghpaw.

In another twist, some Burmese words have entered Jinghpaw through Shan. Many of these words uphold older Burmese pronunciations, still preserved in Burmese spelling. One example is Jinghpaw *panglai* [sea], ultimately from an early pronunciation of Burmese pinlɛ, written /PAṄLAI/ (in his Focus article McCormick discusses the role of Written Burmese in reconstructing the history of sound changes in Burmese). Another is *kawngmu* [pagoda]. The fact that the word has the same meaning as in Shan, which in turn slightly shifted from the Burmese source, shows that it came through Shan. The Burmese word *kàun-hmú* – written /KOṄḤ MHU/ [merit, good deed] – refers to donations, including pagoda building.

Shan in relation to other languages: Shan as a subordinate language

Throughout its history, Shan has been in greater and lesser contact with Burmese, the language of the powerful lowland courts and the more recent central government in Myanmar. However, politics has never been the sole reason for contact between Shan and Burmese. The Burmese language also has close associations with court culture and Buddhism, and so has long been a prestigious language in the region. Taking part in a larger Burmese linguistic and cultural sphere does not necessarily mean that other peoples, like the Shan, who participate in Burmese networks of prestige, agree to current political arrangements.

The linguistic influence of Burmese can be seen on all levels of Shan vocabulary, and can incidentally be found far afield, even in places that today are not, or no longer, connected to the Burmese sphere, such as Meuang Sing in Laos. When comparing Shan to other closely related languages such as Thai Kheun (the language of Keng Tung, closely related to Lanna Thai), some of the sound differences are striking. While all those languages have an 'imploded' /ɗ/ and /ɓ/ sound (as McCormick also discusses in this *Focus*), and the 'fricative' /f/, Shan lacks these sounds, just as Burmese does. Shan does have the sound /sʰ/, an 'aspirated fricative', which is quite rare throughout the world, but which is also found in Burmese.

Structurally, it seems likely that Shan speakers have replicated certain Burmese patterns. For example, to say 'in the house', Shan speakers say *ti néj hɤ́n* (literally 'at + in + house'), which is exactly the same (if in a different order) as the Burmese *ʔein dɛ́ hma* (literally 'house + in + at'). The same phrase in Lao (which may be closer than Thai) would simply be *naj hêuan*.

Today, Burmese influence is clearest in borrowings. Burmese terms abound in all domains of the Shan lexicon. While this was already the case in older classical texts, the number of Burmanisms has increased in modern prose, especially in formal and academic texts. Burmese is the sole language of state education and administration in the country, and the main language of media and commerce.

Based on our project research, many Shan – especially younger people – are more at ease talking about professional or official affairs in Burmese, even though they describe Shan as their first language and the language of choice for personal conversations. Books and popular music, videos, and movies are much more widely available in Burmese than in Shan. While such media do exist in Shan, their production and distribution is more restricted. As is the case for many Burmese minorities, many Shan in Burma are therefore more fluently literate in Burmese than Shan.

Shan is a medium of instruction in non-formal education, for example in monastic schools. Shan-language textbooks and readers are often translations of Burmese government textbooks. As sometimes happens in these cases, the Shan has been translated following the Burmese a bit too closely. Not only can the Shan be awkward, but such texts foster language which converges ever closer to Burmese models.

As was the case with Shan loanwords in Palaung, Burmese loanwords tell us a lot about how long Shan and Burmese speakers have been in contact, and approximately when the word was adopted. In many respects Shan and Burmese have rather different sound systems, but it is obvious that Shan phonology has been able to preserve sounds from earlier stages of Burmese. The Shan word *pré.krí* [capital] preserves an earlier pronunciation of Burmese *pyigyì*, one fairly close to that of Rakhaing today. Similarly, Shan has *cén.cá* for Burmese *sìn.zà* (written <CAÑ.CĀḤ>), which suggests that the loan came into Shan around the eighteenth century, when Burmese /c/ had not yet shifted to /s/ and when /añ/ had not fronted to /in/, but was /en/, as is found in British sources of the time.[2]

'Little brother' Thai and its influence on 'older brother' Shan

In Thai, the name for Shan is *Tai Yai* [Big Tai], in contrast to one of the historical names for the Thai, *Tai Noi* [Little Tai], possibly in reference to historical relations and settlement patterns. Today, however, Thailand is very much the big brother to the Shan: large numbers of Shan speakers in Burma know Thai from their experience as migrant workers in Thailand. Being culturally and linguistically closer to Thai than to Burmese, Shan has been under increasing influence from its 'big brother' to the south. The huge Thai entertainment industry, producing soap operas, movies, and popular music and karaoke videos, has long been a welcome alternative to Burmese State TV programs. Thai has become the language of choice for many Shan when it comes to globalized culture. Burmese influence enters Shan mainly through official channels like education, administration, and commerce, and historically also through religion.

A number of Shan political and cultural organizations, including online news magazines, are based in Chiangmai. Many Thai words for scientific and political concepts, which are often already phonologically and structurally close to Shan, can easily be turned into Shan-like words. Some of these loans may be difficult to detect, especially if they consist of indigenous Tai elements, like Shan *kăn mɤ́ŋ* [politics] from Thai *kaːn mɯəŋ*, or *tɔ́.su* [fight] from Thai *tːɔ́-sûː*.[3] We know these are Thai loans because one of the parts exists in Thai but not Shan. More obvious are Thai loans from Khmer, which are otherwise all but absent in Shan. Structurally, Thai influence on Shan would be much harder to detect because the languages are very close grammatically.

In Shan areas close to Thailand, especially where there are substantial numbers of returned migrant workers, there may be some phonological convergence at work; one case is the reversal of the historical shift of Proto-Tai /f/ to Shan /pʰ/. We find this shift in the Shan word *pʰéj* [fire], which many young people now pronounce *féj,* following the pronunciation of the Thai cognate /faj/. As one young Shan migrant worker explained, "it sounds old fashioned to pronounce such words as *féj* with pʰ. Maybe some old people in the villages still speak like that".

Positioning Shan

Shan, while an important language of administration and education in the past, has itself long been situated between two powerful languages, Burmese and Thai. Both languages have at different times exercised influence on Shan on different levels and in different domains. The pull towards Burmese has been increasing, with the greater integration and acceptance of the Shan into Myanmar, while Thai remains an attractive alternative that, at least superficially, strengthens a sense of pan-Tai identity. Shan cultural and political elites may be more interested in Thai connections, although common people may take a much more pragmatic approach, adopting whatever language they see as being useful in their daily lives.

Mathias Jenny, Senior Researcher, Department of Comparative Linguistics, University of Zürich (mathias.jenny@uzh.ch)

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Linguistic convergence within the ‘Kachin’ languages

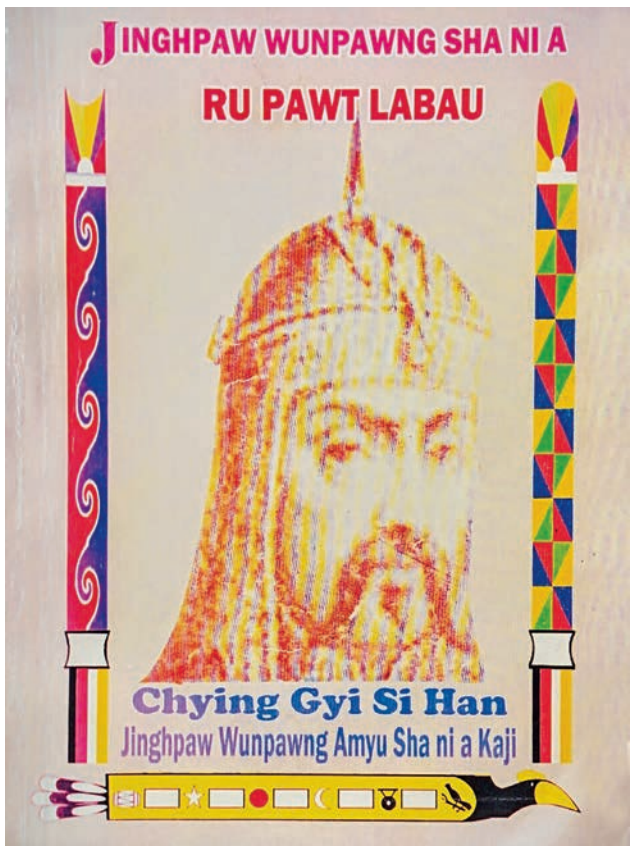
Speakers of the various Kachin languages often use the expression ‘Kachin’ or ‘Kachin language’ when speaking in English or Burmese to refer to the Jinghpaw language. There is, however, no single ‘Kachin’ language. The languages included in the super-ethnic category ‘Kachin’ include Jinghpaw itself, also spoken in China and Northeast India, where it is called ‘Singpho’; Zaiwa (Atsi), Lhaovo (Maru or Langsu), Lashi (Lachik or Lacid), Lisu, Rawang (Krangku), Ngochang (Maingtha or Achang, Ngachang), Pola (Bela), and Hpun. Pola has around 400 speakers and Hpun may no longer be spoken. As the recent work of Sadan,[1] Robinne, and others has shown,[2] the Burmese-language term ‘Kachin’ to refer to these peoples arose fairly recently in the context of colonial Burma. As a category, ‘Kachin’ may make sense most fully in English or Burmese, given that the term was created and given more meaning by successive governments to denote a category of people useful in the British colonial army. The question of how the people who now fall under this category may have understood themselves and their interconnections in the past and how their views have changed, may ultimately be unanswerable.

André Müller

THE RISE of the term ‘Kachin’ throws into relief a perspective on ethnicity as a ‘process’. The ideas and practices of pre-colonial Burmese courts, pre- and post-colonial local elites, soldiers and nationalists, common people, British officials, and local and international scholars have all contributed to the imagining, creation, and maintenance of the Kachin category. Over time, the meaning of Kachin – who is Kachin and who is not – has changed. Jinghpaws may not recognize their non-Christian ancestors as Jinghpaw or Kachin, and not all the people or groups who today fall under the Kachin umbrella necessarily accept their position there. For example, some Lisu speakers, but certainly not all, have associated themselves with the Kachin since the late nineteenth century, when the former moved into the Kachin region. We can think of a ‘core Kachin’ group, or linguistic and socio-cultural complex, which includes Jinghpaw, Zaiwa, Lashi, and Lhaovo, while the others, such as Lisu and Rawang, are ‘peripheral Kachin’.

What, if anything, is the linguistic evidence for any kind of close association between speakers of the language falling under the category ‘Kachin’? All of them are part of the Sino-Tibetan family, but come from several branches of the family.[3] Jinghpaw itself, the largest of the Kachin language and the lingua franca among most of the languages, is often put in the ‘Sal’ group, together with languages never considered Kachin, such as Kadu of Burma and Bodo of Northeast India. On the other hand, Zaiwa, Lashi, Lhaovo, and especially Ngochang are closely related to Burmese.

‘Genetic’ or ‘arboreal’ models of language relatedness helps us understand only so much about the linguistic situation. The classic model is the Indo-European family, the first language family to be established and which serves as a model for other projects of establishing language relatedness. English and Dutch are on the same Germanic ‘branch’ of the tree; we think of them as ‘sister’ languages. But when speakers of various languages are in close, long-term contact and many people speak each other’s languages, aspects of their languages come to resemble each other, even if the languages are not ‘genetically’ related. We often think about loanwords or ‘matter’ – what most think of when they hear of ‘language contact’ – but also of ‘patterns’, or how words are put together. Following this idea, we can then understand how even though English and Dutch are close ‘sisters’, in some ways the Dutch verb system works more like it does in German and French than in English. Surprisingly, aspects of the English sound system and even its grammar may come from early contact with the Old Brythonic or British language, which survives today as Welsh.



Left:
Kachin Book cover.

Connections – linguistic and otherwise

My research is part of a larger project on the ‘areal linguistics’ of what we have called the Greater Burma Zone, which includes modern Myanmar but also parts of Northeast India, Yunnan, northern Thailand, and Bangladesh. A lot of discussion and research has gone into defining ‘linguistic areas’, such as Western Europe, Meso-America, the Balkans, South Asia and even Mainland Southeast Asia. The idea is that when there is widespread multilingualism, no matter what language family the languages come from, or how closely or distantly they are related to each other ‘genetically’, they come to take on each other’s features. In other words, they say things the same way and replicate similar grammatical structures, without necessarily borrowing a lot of ‘words’ or ‘matter’ from each other. Some of these features are shared with other languages spoken in the Greater Burma Zone, for example Burmese or Shan, while others are restricted to the languages spoken by those who identify themselves as Kachin.

Focussing on the Kachin languages, we have found evidence of intense contact between at least some of the languages. My findings are based on our work both with native speakers of various Kachin languages in Burma and an analysis of texts and grammatical descriptions. The linguistic evidence suggests that these languages form a socio-cultural complex within the Greater Burma Zone – a close relationship such as contact between the languages over an extended amount of time. Our findings fit well into the idea of shared social structures, an overarching clan system that determines, for example, who can and cannot marry whom. The clans connect the Kachin groups so that many people identify more with their clan and their connections with other clans than with their native language. The various subgroups share a common Kachin practice: they do not necessarily think of themselves either by the name of their language, nor as ‘Kachin’, but as members of their clan, related to other clans by marriage.

Patterns of exogamy and mutual obligations between the clans play a large role in maintaining contact between the various languages. The various groups share rituals and traditions, most importantly the *mayu-dama* system, exogamous marriage patterns that specify which clan is ‘husband-givers’ and which ‘wife-givers’. This system often fosters cross-linguistic marriage. It is common to find multilingual families with the children speaking two or three Kachin languages. The evidence for a local Kachin linguistic complex comes from a comparison of the structures and words of the languages. Unsurprisingly, the influence of the Jinghpaw on the other languages is pronounced: the other languages have ‘converged’ towards Jinghpaw by replicating Jinghpaw patterns. In the phonology or sound systems of the languages, we find that Zaiwa, whose speakers are in closest contact with Jinghpaw, has a sound system that is more similar to Jinghpaw and less so to its closest relatives, Lhaovo and Lashi. Both Jinghpaw and Zaiwa have approximately the same set of ‘rhymes’, a term used to describe the combinations of vowel and final consonant that a language allows. Lhaovo and Lashi have a set that is more similar to Burmese, especially written Burmese, which preserves an older stage of the sound system of the language. For example, Lhaovo, Lashi, and Burmese allow diphthongs before final consonants whereas Zaiwa, like Jinghpaw, does not.

In terms of vocabulary or words, there appears to be widespread borrowing from Jinghpaw into the other languages. There is a large number of loanwords ranging from special to everyday vocabulary, even grammatical words. Examples include the word for ‘very’: Jinghpaw *grài,* borrowed into Zaiwa, Lhaovo, and Pola as *kyài,* and into Rawang as *grvy/gày;* another being ‘because’: Jinghpaw *mətɕɔ̀,* borrowed into Zaiwa as *mətɕò*, and into Lhaovo as *àtɕò.* Anyone who is familiar with the Burmese language will note that the same change of /r/ to /y/ appears to have happened in some of these languages, also. Of all the languages in the Kachin complex, Zaiwa appears to have the largest number of Jinghpaw loanwords.

British anthropologist Edmund Leach was the first to point to the close relationship that exists between Shans and various Kachins.[4] The phonetic shape of words can tell us that certain Shan words (which themselves may be Burmese in origin) came to the other Kachin languages through Jinghpaw. One example is the Jinghpaw word for ‘garden’, *sún,* borrowed from Shan *sʰŏn*. Speakers of Jinghpaw regularly perceive the o of Shan (and Burmese) words as more similar to their own Jinghpaw u than to their own o sound, which is more open, similar to the ‘aw’ in English ‘jaw’. Even though these two vowel sounds in Zaiwa are actually closer to the Shan, Zaiwa nevertheless also has *sún* for the word ‘garden’, suggesting the word came from Jinghpaw and not directly from Shan. According to native speakers and interviews with faculty of the Anthropology Department of Mandalay University conducted in January 2016, Jinghpaw kinship terms also appear in Lhaovo and Rawang.

This, that and yon – versus that up there and that over there

Research into language contact and convergence is in its infancy, and so it is not surprising that little has been done about the languages of the Greater Burma Zone. I have found some intriguing evidence from the languages under the ‘Kachin’ name which suggests that their demonstratives (words for ‘this’, ‘that’, and ‘yon’). The core Kachin languages (Jinghpaw, Zaiwa, Lhaovo, Lashi and Pola) all share two common traits, which they do not with their closest relatives: ‘relative height distinctions’ in their demonstratives and variation in where in the sentence they place these. In all the core Kachin languages, speakers make the same distinctions in how high an object is from the perspective of the speaker. There are single words meaning ‘that up there’, ‘that over there’, and ‘that down there’. There are one or two words that also mean ‘this here’. Making such distinctions in height is a common feature of many languages spoken in mountainous areas, such as in the Caucasus and the Himalayas.
Lhaovo, for example, has only one pronoun referring to something or someone close to the speaker – *tɕʰɛ̀* – regardless of the height. For objects or people further away, the language distinguishes between *xù* [that up there], *tʰə̀* [that over there], and *mɔ̀* [that down there]. The forms in Lashi, Zaiwa, and Pola (all closely related languages) are very similar and make basically the same distinctions. The system in Jinghpaw, a language from a different part of the Tibeto-Burman family, also makes basically the same distinctions, with the addition of forms distinguishing ‘this near me’ and ‘that near you’.

Top: Young Lacid Women, Myitkyina, 2016.

Middle: Interview with Rawang Man, 2016.

Below: Lisu Students Taungyi, 2016.

All photographs by author.

The actual words for these demonstratives in Lhaovo, Lashi, Pola and Zaiwa are all similar in form, which is not surprising given that the languages are closely related. The forms in Jinghpaw, Anong, and Lisu, all of which make similar height distinctions, are of different shapes, which shows that the words were not merely borrowed.

The evidence from some of the other languages is less clear. Rawang could be called a peripheral Kachin language and is from yet another part of the Tibeto-Burman family. Here we find no distinctions in altitude. But its close relative, Anong, spoken in Yunnan and adjacent Burma, does make height distinctions. Lisu, which some native speakers see as falling under Kachin while others do not, does make altitude distinctions. According to *Ethnologue,* speakers of Anong are shifting to Lisu.[5]

When we consider the systems in closely related languages, we find a rather different picture. Burmese is closely related to Lhaovo, Lashi, Zaiwa, and Pola, yet does not make any height distinctions. Instead, the system focusses only on relative distance: di [this], *ʔèdi* [that], and *ho* [yon] or 'indeterminate distance'. Kadu is a relative of Jinghpaw, but has a system basically the same as Burmese. As Leach first described, speakers of the Kachin languages have long been in contact with Shan, which as Jenny describes elsewhere in this *Focus,* is a wholly unrelated Tai-Kadai language. The Shan forms closely parallel those of Burmese and Kadu. Even though Shan speakers live at a relatively higher altitude than the Burmese, they are still valley dwellers.

Another related grammatical feature that ties the core Kachin languages together is *where* these demonstratives are placed in the sentence. The equivalent of 'this cat' and 'cat this' are both possible. We find this variability in two short Zaiwa sentences:

nò	***hî***	*gè*	*ʔàkóŋ*	*mā.*
cow	**this**	(topic)	colorfulness	be.in

"This cow is colorful"

mô	***póŋtín***	*bə̀-guʔ*	*kân-aʔ!*
that	**pen**	help-pick.up	put.in-(imperative)

"Pick up that pen down there!"

The peripheral Kachin languages, such as Lisu and Rawang, do not show this kind of variability. Rather, the demonstrative always follows the noun: literally, 'cat this'. In some of the close relatives of these languages, such as Burmese and Kadu, the demonstrative always comes before the noun ('this cat'). It is not common in the languages of the world to have variation like this, so finding it here among the core Kachin languages is significant.

Variable participation in being Kachin

These two small – yet tantalizing – examples suggest that through close contact, as fostered through the clan and marriage systems, the core Kachin languages have converged in certain aspects of their grammar. In areas of Papua New Guinea and the Amazon, where cross-linguistic marriages have been institutionalized in similar ways as among the Kachin, we find similar patterns of convergence across languages. The evidence of the shared words and systems among the core languages suggest that the contact has been more long-term and closer than the contact with the peripheral languages like Lisu and Rawang. Indeed, the Lisu themselves know that they started moving into the area as late as the nineteenth century. Only a small part of the overall Lisu population participates in the Kachin clan system, and its exogamous marriage tradition. Only some speak Jinghpaw.[6] Among the Rawang, only those in close contact with other Kachins share the kinship and clan system, even though they are linguistically strongly influenced by Jinghpaw, as manifested in a large amount of loanwords in nearly all domains, including grammatical words.

Not only peripheral Kachin groups contest being affiliated with the Jinghpaw, or being part of the Kachin system. In the past decades, each Kachin subgroup has founded its own 'literature and culture' committees (the term 'literature' in these names follows a Burmese English usage, which we would call 'literacy'), promoted its own orthography, published primers and Bible translations. The Kachin Baptist Church, with its focus on Jinghpaw, was initially antagonistic to these efforts to create individual literary languages. These subgroup committees usually attempt to 'purify' their languages by replacing commonly used Jinghpaw words with newly coined words in a process similar to those in French, Icelandic, or Turkish. In places like northern Shan State where 'pure' Jinghpaw speakers are the minority, some subgroup Kachins prefer to speak their mother tongue (be it Lhaovo, Zaiwa, or Lashi) instead of using Jinghpaw as a lingua franca when talking to speakers of other Kachin languages. The closeness of many of these non-Jinghpaw languages facilitates this process, since the level of shared vocabulary among them is high enough to allow people to quickly gain passive fluency in the other languages through exposure. We thus see some evidence among some speakers of separating linguistically from the larger, otherwise more prestigious, language and emphasize their identity as Lhaovo, Lashi, or Zaiwa.

André Müller, PhD student, Department of Comparative Linguistics, University of Zürich (andre.mueller3@uzh.ch).

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Orthography and vernacular media

Jinghpaw, the majority language among the Kachin people of northern Myanmar, has come to enjoy vibrant vernacular media. If you visit Myitkyina, the largest city in Kachin State today, you cannot help but see colorful posters advertising the latest Jinghpaw-language music. On the internet there are countless Jinghpaw-language websites, from frivolous to serious. This situation is remarkable because the language did not even have a writing system 125 years ago. Today the Jinghpaw media may be the most vigorous among the many minority language media of upland Southeast Asia. We explore how the Jinghpaw orthography became established and how vernacular media have grown.

Keita Kurabe and Masao Imamura

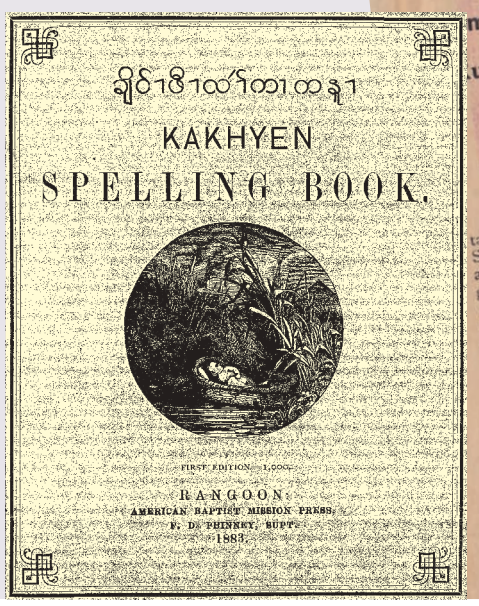

Fig.1 (left): *Kakhyen Spelling Book* (1883). This orthography devised by Cushing would be later superseded by Hanson's orthography, still in use today.

Fig.2 (right): *Jinghpaw Prat*, a short-lived secular Jinghpaw-language newspaper (1958-63).

The linguistic landscape of the Kachin region

The term 'Kachin' refers to a complex of upland people living largely in Kachin State and the northern part of Shan State in Myanmar, but also in neighboring areas of northeastern India and Yunnan, in southwestern China. Kachins speak many languages, including Jinghpaw (also called 'Singpho' in India and 'Jingpo' in China), Zaiwa, Lhaovo, Lacid, Rawang, and Ngochang (whether or not Lisu or 'Lishaw' is a Kachin language is a question that Müller takes up in his piece in this Focus). While these languages are all of the Tibeto-Burman group of the Sino-Tibetan language family, they belong to distinct branches and are mutually unintelligible. Furthermore, even within one language, for example Rawang, the dialectal differences may be so great that speakers cannot communicate with each other. While many, speaking in Burmese or English, use the term 'Kachin' to refer to what is actually the Jinghpaw language, we use 'Jinghpaw' to distinguish it from the other Kachin languages.

In this world of multiple languages, Jinghpaw has functioned as a lingua franca. According to David Bradley, the Jinghpaw population is by far the largest, estimated at 650,000.[1] The Zaiwa, Lhaovo, and Rawang populations are estimated to be 170,000, 100,000, and 110,000 respectively. The Lacid and Ngochang are considerably smaller.

Multilingualism is common; we can easily find people who can speak, for example, Jinghpaw and Lhaovo. This multilingualism, however, is not reciprocal, because not all the Kachin languages are considered equal in status. Jinghpaw is clearly dominant and of higher status. The vast majority of people who speak only one Kachin language are Jinghpaw-speakers. Those who speak Jinghpaw do not seem to be interested in learning another minority language, similar to how few native Burmese speakers are motivated to learn a minority language.

The development of the Jinghpaw orthography

Given its predominance, it is not surprising that Jinghpaw was the first Kachin language to acquire an orthography. The set of conventions used today for writing Jinghpaw was devised by Protestant missionaries at the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed the history of Jinghpaw orthography and vernacular media is inseparable from global literacy campaigns of Protestant evangelism, whose most visible driver today is the Summer Institute of Linguistics International.

Starting with Adoniram and Ann Judson, who arrived in Burma in 1813 and translated the entire Bible into Burmese by 1834, a succession of American Baptist missionaries came to Burma to translate Christian scripture into the local languages. Among the Buddhists, the missionaries were not successful. They did notice, however, that 'tribal peoples' who lacked writing, such as the Karen, reacted much more favorably to them. The missionaries therefore shifted their focus to upland tribal groups. Because these languages were wholly oral and not written, the evangelists had to come up with an orthography for each language before translating the scripture.

A myriad of local languages created much confusion among the missionaries who encountered them. Missionaries 'discovered' the Jinghpaw language in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but it took quite some while before Jinghpaw was identified as a separate language. At first, missionaries in Burma were working on Jinghpaw without realizing that fellow missionaries in northeastern India were working on the same language.

Efforts to reduce Jinghpaw to writing in northeastern India were initially vigorous; the Baptists used the Roman alphabet to transcribe Jinghpaw and produced a phrase book and vocabulary list in the early 1830s. Their efforts, however, did not last long; perhaps because they realized that the number of Jinghpaw speakers in the region was rather small.

Paul Ambroise Bigandet, the French bishop of Rangoon known for his pioneering study of Buddhism *(The Life, or Legend, of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese),* made visits to Bhamo in northern Burma in 1856 and 1865, marking the beginning of Roman Catholicism among the Kachins. During his first visit, Bigandet made a short vocabulary list of Jinghpaw, which was published in 1858 as a comparative lexicon of Shan, Jinghpaw, and Palaung. This work of Jinghpaw, written in the Roman alphabet, is one of the earliest references to the Jinghpaw spoken in Burma.

It was the Baptist missionaries in Burma who made gains in studying Jinghpaw systematically and in devising an orthography for the language. In 1873, Francis Mason, who had played a major role in translating the Bible into Sgaw Karen (1843) and Pwo Karen (1852), arrived in Bhamo in northern Burma and spent two months studying Jinghpaw. Josiah Cushing, who had translated the Bible into Shan, paid his first visit to Bhamo in 1876. Much neglected in previous research have been the group of young Karen missionaries, such as Bogalay, who accompanied Cushing and stayed in the region to study Jinghpaw.

Cushing and his team put the Gauri dialect of Jinghpaw into writing. They borrowed various elements from the Karen, Burmese, and Shan orthographies, all of which were Indic in origin. In 1877, Cushing then translated into Jinghpaw a portion of the Baptist catechism, which Ann Judson had written in Burmese. He also collected 1500 Jinghpaw words and published a grammatical note in 1880. In 1879, another missionary named William Henry Roberts arrived in Bhamo; he stayed for thirty-four years among the Kachins. Roberts used Cushing's orthography to publish a small spelling book in 1883, and translated the Gospel of Matthew into Jinghpaw in 1885. The use of Cushing's orthography, however, did not gain traction, for reasons unclear to us (see fig.1).

The Baptist missionaries, it appears, decided to do away with the Cushing orthography and create a new one. Ola Hanson, a Swedish-American missionary, who had a good command of Swedish, English, German, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, arrived in Bhamo in 1890. Soon he created an original orthography for Jinghpaw using the Roman alphabet instead of the Indic scripts. Hanson chose the Roman alphabet perhaps because he found it easier to capture Jinghpaw sounds. While translating the New Testament (completed in 1911), he and his local assistants, such as Damau Naw, enthusiastically promoted the use of the new orthography by publishing a spelling book (1892), a grammar book (1896), a dictionary (1906), and a reader (1908). Danau Naw, an assistant helping Hanson in literary work since 1893, became one of the earliest Jinghpaw writers, publishing a small booklet in Jinghpaw in 1906.

Jinghpaw vernacular media

In the 1910s, a variety of reading materials in Jinghpaw began to appear. In 1914, the Baptist church published the first periodical in the language, a bi-monthly (later a monthly) newsletter called the *Jinghpaw Shi Laika [Jinghpaw News].* The British colonial government also found the Jinghpaw orthography to be useful, and so commissioned the church to produce school textbooks in Jinghpaw. In 1915, a Textbook Committee was organized under the Deputy Commissioner in Bhamo. Much of this work was actually carried out by J. Frank Ingram, a Baptist missionary and his assistant La Nau, who were also stationed in the same city. They published five series of readers in Jinghpaw for children and the first four grades. Textbooks for various subjects including geography (1918), arithmetic (1918), and basic science (1920) were also produced by the Baptist missionaries. A handbook on hygiene and public health (1931) was made available at the request of the government. In this period, the Baptist church, run by American missionaries and the British colonial government worked together to 'civilize' the natives; literacy campaigns were central to their civilizing project.

The Second World War interrupted publication activities; *Jinghpaw Shi Laika,* for example, discontinued in 1941. This did not, however, mean that there were no publications during the wartime. In fact, Jinghpaw language materials were printed in India. The British and Foreign Bible Society in Calcutta, for example, printed the Jinghpaw Bible.

Jinghpaw media recovered after the war and grew rapidly after Burma's independence in 1948. The most noteworthy event in the post-war period was the growth of secular media. By the late 1950s, Jinghpaw media had grown to publish independently of the church. In 1958 a secular newspaper, the *Jinghpaw Prat [The Jinghpaw Times]* was founded in Rangoon. This full-fledged weekly, full of catchy photos, covered a wide range of topics, from a beauty contest in Myitkyina to the latest world news like the Cuban missile crisis (see fig. 2). Although the *Jinghpaw Prat* was discontinued in 1963, this publication, which enjoyed broad readership, represented the Jinghpaw public sphere of the era more than any other.

The case of Jinghpaw-Kachin

Fig.3 (above): A store in Myitkyina selling Jinghpaw-language music.

Fig.4 (below): Jinghpaw-language bookstore in Myitkyina.

The Jinghpaw secular media, however, did not survive the draconian measures towards the minority-language press imposed by Ne Win, who seized power in a coup in 1962. Although the public media were suppressed, Jinghpaw literacy classes were by then so well established that they were able to maintain their work through their ever-expanding church network.

The churches had grown significantly in the 1950s in terms of their printing capacity. In 1957, the Kachin Baptist Convention established Hanson Memorial Press, equipping themselves with their own printing facilities. They purchased a used press in the US and had it shipped to Rangoon. A Bible school student with photography and printing skills, Lazing Gawng, was sent to Rangoon for practical training and he became the manager of the new press in Myitkyina. This enabled the resumption of the *Jinghpaw Shi Laika,* the same as the pre-war periodical. In the 1960s, the press was led by Saboi Jum, one of the most prominent Jinghpaw intellectuals of the post-war era, who later exerted considerable influence on Kachin politics as the Secretary General of the Kachin Baptist Convention.

The production capacity of Jinghpaw literature increased, and so did the readership. A good indication of readership growth was the opening of the bookstore 'Laika Nau Ra' in Myitkyina. This downtown store originally sold traditional medicine only, but it began to carry Jinghpaw-language publications in 1965 and it grew as a bookstore. Today the store offers the largest selection of Jinghpaw-language books, selling more than one hundred titles in Jinghpaw (see fig. 4).

Throughout the era of Kachin insurgency against the central government – since the founding of the Kachin Independence Army in 1961 to the ceasefire agreement in 1994 (brokered by Saboi Jum) – churches were practically the sole patron of Jinghpaw literature. The most prominent among these was the Kachin Baptist Convention, which continued its literacy campaigns through its childcare program, Sunday School, and 'summer school' (that is, during the annual school break) courses. The churches also produced newsletters, which they circulated by cleverly printing 'limited circulation' on the cover, thus allowing them to bypass the official censorship board of the central government.

Another way that Jinghpaw media bypassed the government interference was having a production site outside the country. In 1982, the Catholic Church began broadcasting in Jinghpaw from the Philippines through their Radio Veritas Asia program.

Jinghpaw and media technology

As the case of the Radio Veritas program indicates, Jinghpaw media have been quick to adapt to new technologies. During the 1980s, young people in Myitkyina started making Jinghpaw-language movies with smuggled cameras. The showing and circulating of these movies was difficult because all the equipment, including a television and a VCR player, had to be carried around. Precisely because it was so difficult, when a showing did take place, people treated it as a festival.

In the 1990s, VCDs began to come into the country from China. VCDs became extremely popular because VCD players were affordable; the disks themselves were easily copied and transported, and survived high humidity. In much of the Kachin region, VCDs allowed ordinary people to see movies for the first time. In addition to pirated Hollywood blockbusters, Jinghpaw producers created original Jinghpaw videos, some of which proved very popular (see fig. 3).

In the early 2000s, the Chinese mobile phone network covered areas of Burma across from the Chinese border. As a result, affordable mobile phone services were available in the periphery of the country far earlier than the central regions. Chinese CDMA networks reached the Kachin areas near the Chinese border, including Myitkyina, by the early 2000s, a full decade before networks were made widely available in Yangon. Mobile phones were also useful for sending messages. Jinghpaw speakers had the advantage of being able to send text messages in their language using even a very basic mobile phone because, unlike the Burmese or Shan, Jinghpaw orthography does not require any special fonts.

Internet shops also started to open about the same time. Young people in particular spent hours there to chat through social networks. A Kachin web-developer even created a service called *Wunpawng Zupra* [Union Meeting Place], which proved popular until it was eventually overwhelmed by Facebook.

In the development of the Jinghpaw digital media the diaspora communities played a major role. While pastors and pop singers drove the media development inside the country, journalists and activists in exile provided news and advocacy. In 2003, a group of young journalists launched Kachin News (kachinnews.com) in Chiang Mai, Thailand. These websites presented breaking news, hard-hitting advocacy, and insightful analysis to the Jinghpaw readership that was hungry for information and analysis on political issues. The number of news sites has increased since the resumption of the war between the Kachin Independence Army and the Myanmar military in 2011.

The Jinghpaw vernacular media continues to thrive today despite the ongoing conflict. Looking back at its history, it would be difficult to exaggerate the role played by Protestant evangelism. The series of Jinghpaw Readers are still in use today in modified versions. Baptist churches continue to run summer schools. At the same time, digital technology has radically decentralized media production, allowing journalists, intellectuals, artists, and musicians to work and distribute their products more readily and widely. On YouTube are countless Jinghpaw-language videos ranging from reports on the controversial Myitsone dam to the stand-up comedy of a Baptist pastor.

Keita Kurabe, Research Fellow, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, based at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (kurabek0926@gmail.com); Masao Imamura, Associate Professor at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Yamagata University (imamura@human.kj.yamagata-u.ac.jp)

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Palaung orthographies: writing and the politics of ethnicity in Shan State

During the British colonial period (1885-1948), various Palaung groups used the Shan script to write their languages. Since independence in 1948, these groups have come into more direct contact with the Burmese people and their language, through government and educational institutions. Since the 1960s, the influence of Burmese has become stronger, displacing the older role of the Shan language in Palaung intellectual life. As a result, recent efforts to create Palaung orthographies have followed Burmese models.

Takahiro Kojima

TO READ THIS CHANGE as 'assimilation' may be misleading. Rather, Palaung elites see themselves as making efforts to establish a 'standardized' orthography based on the national language, Burmese. Since the political changes in Myanmar in 2010, Palaung leaders have created Palaung textbooks in anticipation of increased local autonomy in education. Wide differences in the varieties of the Palaung language and several orthographic traditions have posed a challenge to creating a single Palaung orthography. The difficulties in these efforts, together with the challenges posed by creating a standard Palaung language from among the varieties, highlight the evolving internal power dynamics of a diverse ethnic group in democratizing Myanmar.

The Palaung, who call themselves Ta'ang (also 'Deang' in China), are an Austroasiatic upland group living in Shan State in Burma (Myanmar) and neighboring countries, and form several sub-groups among whom there is great linguistic diversity. These sub-groups include the Samlong (or Katur), Rumai, Rukhaü, Riang, Thewrai, Palé, Rucing, and Rumau. As an upland people numbering about half a million, the Palaungs have historically been in close contact with the Shans (or Tai), who live in the valleys of Shan State. More recently, Palaungs have come into closer contact with the Burmese through education, the media, and the state. Much previous writing has stated that the Palaung simply imitate or have internalized Shan culture.[1] In the 1910s, Leslie Milne observed that the Palaung chronicles were written in Shan.[2] In more recent times, Palaungs would use Shan texts for teaching and religious purposes, despite the fact that Shan is a wholly unrelated language. Most Palaung groups are Theravāda Buddhist. When praying, many did so in Shan, which they saw as more effective, virtuous, and nicer to listen to. Those praying in Palaung risked being looked down on for using a low-status language.

Palaung groups have made use of a variety of scripts to write their languages. In 1972, a standardized, official 'Palaung script' was adopted in Palaung communities. However, in my fieldwork during 2011-2016 in areas of Shan State where the Palaung languages are spoken, Mandalay and Yangon, some people could indeed read the script, but I found few who could also write it. Groups of young people have been working to create an improved *yòunthòunza,* Burmese for 'office-use script,' meaning 'official script,' to overcome some of the inadequacies inherent in the older systems and in the 1972 script.

I explore some of the reasons for the diversity of scripts among the Palaung and how various groups have coped with this diversity. On-going efforts to revise the script will have to address the continued practice of local communities using their local language and script. Indeed, the creation of an official script is tied to efforts to create a supra-regional Palaung language, called *ŋɛ poŋ* [the language of the group]. I suggest a reconfiguration of ethnic relations, both among the Palaung groups, and externally with the Shans and Burmese.

Creating a 'united' Palaung script

The first person to create a script for a Palaung language was a Miss Maclean, an American Christian missionary. As part of a larger phenomenon in colonial Burma, missionaries designed scripts for local languages. Maclean tried to introduce her script in 1912. As Buddhists, the Palaung were not receptive. In the following period, however, many Palaung intellectuals took up the impetus and created writing systems based on Burmese and Shan. These too failed to spread. In addition to the generally low esteem in which the Palaung held their own language, many people already knew Shan writing and thought it enough to simply write in that language, rather than in Palaung.

In the 1950s, the drive to create a script again reemerged. The Palaung *sawbwa* Khun Pan Cing met Thakhin Kodaw Hmaing (1875-1964), one of the great Burmese poets, writers, and political leaders of the twentieth century. He asked the sawbwa [chief, prince] whether the Palaung people had their own script. The sawbwa replied they did not. Kodaw Hmaing warned him: "ethnic groups which don't have their own script tend to perish". The sawbwa, hearing Kodaw Hmaing's nationalist rhetoric, felt ashamed. U Paw San (1909-2005), a Palaung ex-monk who had studied Burmese in Mandalay and Rangoon and English in Ceylon, heard the story.[3] He too had internalized the idea that ethnic groups which lacked their own script were low-class, undeveloped people. He decided to devise a Palaung script based on Burmese, reasoning that such a system would be easy for people to adopt.

When U Paw San completed the script in 1955, Khun Pan Cing recognized his work, awarding him a gold medal. This did not, however, ensure that the script was accepted as the standard. This new system vied with older ones, such as that of Shin Nagatheina, a powerful monk, who had created a system based on the old Shan script with which he and many others were more familiar. The Shan Council at the time also wanted to ensure that the old Shan script continued to be used.

The role of the Shan Council in the development of Palaung writing systems continued. In 1967-1968, they held a council in Taunggyi and invited the creators of the competing Palaung systems. Scripts were based on old Shan, Yon Shan (a variant of the Tham script also used in Lanna and Laos), the 'Chinese' Shan script, and Burmese. The participants decided to use the Burmese-based script. They thought that since most Palaung are Buddhists, they should have access to Pāli texts, most of which are written in the Burmese script. Moreover, people could make use of Burmese typewriters.

Nevertheless, the other scripts continued to be used locally. Six Palaung university students formed a commission and created standards. They feared that continuing differences in scripts could split the Palaung people into factions, which could lead to their eventual disappearance. This narrative stresses the importance of unity and the critical role they thought a shared orthography could play in promoting it. The commission incorporated elements from the many different systems in an effort to reach a compromise. They composed a sample textbook in the language of the Samlong spoken in Namhsan, the traditional center of Palaung political power. In 1972, representatives of various Palaung groups met and decided to adopt the students' conventions.[4]

Creating an official language for the official script

The script adopted in 1972 is still used in non-formal education in northern Shan State and Mandalay. A crucial restriction to the spread of its use was that under the Ne Win regime (1962-1988), no language other than Burmese could be used in government schools. In the 1990s, lay education for high school graduates gained some momentum. Yet literacy levels in the standard script is still low. Among many Palaung groups, literacy in their local script tends to be higher.

The question remains, why do so few use the standardized scripts and textbooks? The wide differences in the Palaung language are largely responsible. A textbook in Samlong will be difficult for speakers from other subgroups to understand, even if they are familiar with the script. The lack of a common, standard language has meant that if people do create a textbook, they use their local dialect. The Rumai use the same script as the Samlong, but have created textbooks following Rumai usage. The Rucing use a Yon-based script and the Rucing monk who originally created it did not stop using it himself even after the 1972 conference.

One young Palaung working on the promotion of the *yòunthòunza* today says, "People are aware of the linguistic and social realities which prevent the adoption of a common script. Older people, however, do not want to change the current system because of the loss of pride. Current committee members could take suggestions from the people. That way it will be more likely that they will adopt it."

Starting in 2011, greater autonomy in education has become possible for many Burmese minorities. Palaung have been able to teach their language in government schools after school hours. The new National League for Democracy government, headed by Aung San Suu Kyi, has raised hopes that teaching minority languages as part of the regular government curriculum will be possible. In 2014, members of local organizations, including the Ta'ang Student and Youth Union (TSYU) and the Ta'ang Women's Organization (TWO), agreed to create a textbook to be used in government schools, with the goal of introduction in 2017. Members of the TSYU, which provides education about human rights and the rule of law, have made it a point to communicate only using Palaung languages in their offices, rather than Burmese. They say that it was difficult at first, but that they got used to each other's dialects over time. Based on their experience, they came to think it possible to create a standardized *language,* not just a script.

With the agreement of the Palaung Literature and Culture Committee, they have translated two books into each of the six Palaung languages. They are comparing the vocabulary of each language and choose the words common to the most. This list of common words will be the basis of the 'official' Palaung language. For example, the word *haw* [go] is the same among five of the Palaung languages, so it will become the official word. This is a straightforward example. Depending on the word, some subgroups may have very little input, even though they had greater control over their language in the past.

The biggest question now is whether the Rucing, who are the largest group and already have their own script, will accept the new official language. My conversations with Rucing speakers suggest that while young people may be more used to the idea of a standard language and script, even people only over thirty prefer their Yon-based script and the Rucing language. One Rucing monk in his forties explained that for political reasons, adopting a Burmese-based script in the Rucing area would be difficult. The Shan State Army is powerful there, and there are only four government schools among the 104 Palaung villages.

The obstacles on the road to creating a standard script and language suggest the continued importance of small, local Palaung communities, their own connections, and their older writing systems. The response among younger generations has been flexibility. As one young person said, "If the Rucing want to keep using their Yon script, they can study it in the monastery and learn the *yòunthòunza* in the government schools. We don't want to stop them from using the Yon script".

Above:
Rucing textbook (left), Rumai textbook (right).

Below:
Palaung women of various subgroups.

Takahiro KOJIMA, Tsuda College, Faculty of Liberal Arts, Department of International and Cultural Studies, Associate Professor (kojima.takahiro@gmail.com)

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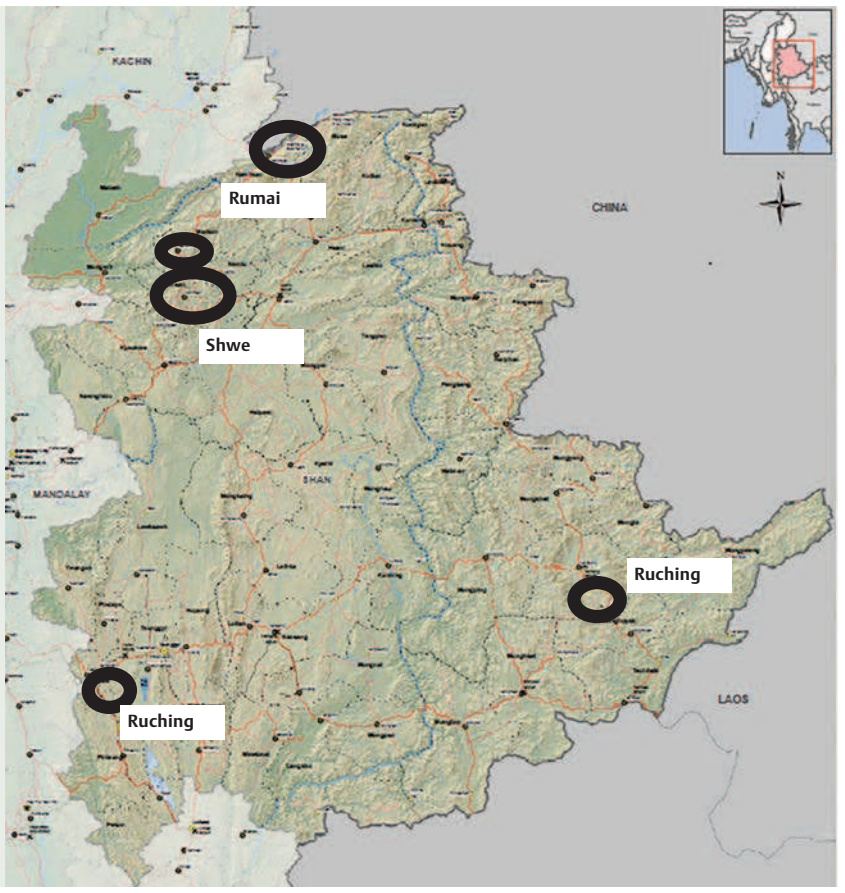
Palaung language and identity

The Palaung (or Ta'ang), whose languages belong to the Austroasiatic family, live on mountain slopes and ridges in Shan State, adjacent Yunnan, and northern Thailand. In addition to the Burmese term 'Palaung' (perhaps itself connected to *Blang* and *Bulang,* names of another Austroasiatic group), insiders and outsiders have used a number of other names to refer to all or some of the Palaung. Besides the names Kojima outlines in his article in this *Focus,* the Burmese refer to the Samlong as 'Shwe' (Burmese for 'gold'), and the Rucing as 'Ngwe' (Burmese for 'silver'). These terms have their origins in the decorations on women's clothing. The Rumai are sometimes called 'Black Palaung', as the cloth of the women's dresses is mainly black. In terms of language, these three names also indicate varieties that are not immediately mutually intelligible.

Rachel Weymuth



Language variation

Many Palaung claim they all speak the same language, which they call Ta'ang, and that there is no variation. Such claims reflect ideology more than reality. For the past several years, I have conducted research on the various Palaung languages, making use both of published sources and conducting fieldwork with native speakers in Mandalay, Yangon, and Shan State.[1] Shwe, Rumai, and Rucing each vary in lexicon and considerably in grammar, and within each group, there is substantial dialectal variation. Given how scattered the Palaung communities are throughout a mountainous area, this is not surprising. The Rucing in particular live at a significant distance from the other groups. To understand just how different the varieties of Palaung are, consider the following sentences, all of which mean, 'this is not my house', with the word for 'house' in bold letters:

Samlong: *ʔɯ ka mɤh cĭ* ***gaŋ*** *ʔɔ*
Rumai: *pǎ nîn ʔaw moh mă* ***kʰəlɛp*** *ʔêw*
Rucing: *ʔaw muh* ***kaŋ*** *ʔo ni*

In Rumai, the word *gâŋ* also exists for house, similar to the other two languages, but speakers think of it as old-fashioned. To think in terms of grammar and structure, each of the sentences translates roughly as 'this not be house my'. The way speakers make the sentence negative differs slightly in each language. In Shwe and Rucing, speakers put the negation before the verb (*ka* and *ʔaw*, respectively), but in Rumai, they add another negator after the verb, *mă*. The sound systems of the languages also differ. Rumai, for example, appears to have a falling tone, at least in some dialects. The other Palaung varieties, like most of the Austroasiatic languages generally, are not tonal.

Most Palaung are multilingual. Traditionally their second language was Shan, but since independence and the introduction of the public school system, Burmese has gained more ground. Multilingualism has led to the influence of the dominant languages into Palaung varieties.

Understanding language variation

Language variation among the Palaung reflects not only physical distance and geographical barriers, but differences in ecological niche and therefore social system. Social hierarchy and elevation are usually inverted in upland Southeast Asia: groups living in the plains or mountain valleys occupy very similar positions in terms of their economics (wet-rice based), religious systems (Buddhism), tending to have complex societies (historically, with royalty and courts), whereas peoples living at higher altitudes tend to have small, less differentiated societies, which have a lower overall social status. The geographical location of most Palaung settlements implies a low social status, lower than that of the Shan who live in the valleys and the plains of the mountains.

Edmund Leach, whose name in Burma Studies is associated with the connections between Kachin and Shan groups, had the insight that certain crops are closely associated with ritual and therefore religious orientation. He found that when Kachins, who are an upland people growing dry rice and other upland crops, took up wet-rice agriculture, as is the normal practice among the Shans, those Kachins quickly became embedded in the various rituals and Buddhist practices associated with that economic-ecological niche. Unlike the Kachin, the Palaung are largely Buddhist, but Leach's insights into what happens among some Kachin may reveal a larger dynamic going on when members of upland societies shift their livelihoods to that of their low(er)-land neighbors.

Most lowland Burmese associate the Palaung with tea cultivation, and indeed, tea has raised the economic level of the Shwe and Rumai to as high as, and sometimes higher than, that of the surrounding Shan.[2] Rucings live at altitudes low enough that they grow less tea, but are able to grow wet rice and more cash crops. The connection between economics, wealth, some kind of social variation and language merit further investigation.

Following the idea of the importance of cultural orientation and connections with Shan models, we find that in Tawng Peng, one of the former Shan principalities whose capital is Nam Hsan, Samlong-speaking Palaung *saopha* (Burmese *sawbwa*) ruled for about two hundred years until shortly after the independence.[3] The Shwe are highly Shanified and have the highest prestige among the Palaung groups. The Rumai and Rucing, in contrast, have never ruled over anyone else, and have only a headman in each village.

Creating a common Palaung identity

The three Palaung groups I have considered here differ in various ways: in their language, economic niche, where they live, and the level of prestige they have relative to their neighbors. As described elsewhere in this *Focus,* Palaung elites have tried to create a common script and language. They have also created a common Palaung flag. All of these markers fit in with Burma-wide practices of creating and maintaining an ethnic identity.

Ethnic groups 'should' have their own language and script, their own written history, a distinct dress, and numerous distinctive cultural practices. There is a widespread fear among ethnic elites in Burma that they are in danger of disappearing. One aspect of this concern is that a lack of unity will result in disappearance; this is quite similar to the rhetoric of the previous Burmese military government.

We may reflect on the question of the extent to which, historically, 'the Palaung' did or did not consider themselves to be connected at all. It is possible that in the 'ethnicized' and 'ethnicizing' environment of Myanmar today, elite groups feel the pressure to create content to ethnic categories that have been ascribed to them. As among other ethnic groups, Palaung elites, largely Shwe, speak of a struggle of autonomy against Burmese and Shan domination. As in other cases in Burma, it is not clear how far below the elite level these sentiments reach or are being acted upon. Whether these Palaung groups will achieve unity is unclear.

Top:
Areas where Palaung is spoken in Shan State, Myanmar.

Above:
Palaung Family, Shan State, 2016

Left:
Palaung monk, Mandalay, 2016.

Photos courtesy of author.

Rachel Weymuth, PhD student,
Department of Comparative Linguistics,
University of Zürich (rachel.weymuth@uzh.ch).

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1 I wish to thank in particular U Nayaka and all my many informants at Phaung Daw U Monastery in Mandalay, which kindly hosted me and helped me greatly.

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A tale of two dictionaries

One of our first windows into Palaung society was Leslie Milne's monograph, *The Home of an Eastern Clan: A study of the Palaungs of Shan State,* published in 1924 after an extended stay in what is now Shan State. Through her writings, we learn of an upland people who were deeply integrated into the Shan world – practicing Buddhism, producing tea and paying tribute to their own *sawbwa*. Like the Palaung, many other Austroasiatic (Mon-Khmer) speaking groups across the region maintained close relationships with their nearby lowland Tai (Tai-Kradai speakers, including the Shan) neighbors. The conventional wisdom is that the Tai dominate the Austro-asiatic in these relationships, sharing the benefits of lowland civilization with the uplanders. The more we learn about these relationships from the perspective of the uplanders, however, the more complex these interactions appear.

Nathan Badenoch

PREVIOUS GENERATIONS of scholars wrote that uplanders simply mimicked the more cultured lowlanders when it suited them, but we now understand that uplanders were selective in their cultural adaptations, internalizing and localizing new practices to fit their worldviews. We also find that the cultural exchange went both ways. For example, although we find many Tai words borrowed into Austroasiatic languages, there is a significant list of Austroasiatic words that were also borrowed into Tai languages.

Documenting the Palaung language

Perhaps one of the most important areas of ongoing discovery is the depth of diversity within upland groups. Although Milne writes of 'the Palaung', she was well aware of the internal diversity of this group who speak several related languages with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility. Besides her ethnography, Milne also produced major works on the language. Her *Elementary Palaung Grammar,* printed in Oxford, came out in 1921, followed in 1931 by *A Dictionary of English-Palaung and Palaung-English,* published in Rangoon. The language she describes is the Palaung as found in Nam Hsan in northern Shan State, whose language the Palaungs call Samlong. As Milne describes in her ethnography, Nam Hsan was the center of Palaung social, economic and political life, with its monasteries, tea plantations and *sawbwa's* residence. The last Palaung *sawbwa,* Khun Pang Cin, represented the Shan states at the Panglong Conference in 1947, where General Aung San and the leaders of the Shans, Kachins and Chins met to discuss their entering the Union of Burma.

In the introduction to the *Grammar,* Milne describes how she had originally started her recording of the Palaung language in the Nam Hkam area, near the Chinese border. At that time she was doing work on the Shan, which culminated in her first publication, *The Shans at Home* (1910). During her fieldwork, she got to know the Palaungs living in the hills around the Moeng Mao basin, which straddles the present China-Burma border. The Palaungs there speak Rumai, one of the major language divisions of the language, as both Kojima and Weymuth allude to in their contributions to this Focus.

After fifteen months working with the Rumai, Milne made her way to Nam Hsan, and began to study the language spoken there, particularly that of the *sawbwa* and his clan. As she tells the story, this language was "considered by the Palaungs themselves to be the most correct and aristocratic form of their language". In other words, more refined and worthy of a dictionary and grammatical description. The political and economic position of Nam Hsan provides compelling reasons to place importance on the Samlong language. It also happens that Samlong preserves an older sound system and word structure, while Rumai and the others have undergone a series of sound changes, differentiating them from Samlong. At the same time, aspects of the Samlong sound system gave it an 'older' feel, so it is perhaps not surprising that the variety has the status it does.

Milne therefore decided to produce a dictionary based on research on Samlong. Yet she comments, "(a)t the same time, my previous studies among the Rumai were not wasted, as although the pronunciation and even many of the words are different in the various clans – none of which have a written language – yet the construction of all these dialects is the same, and the words, even when they differ, suggest a common origin".

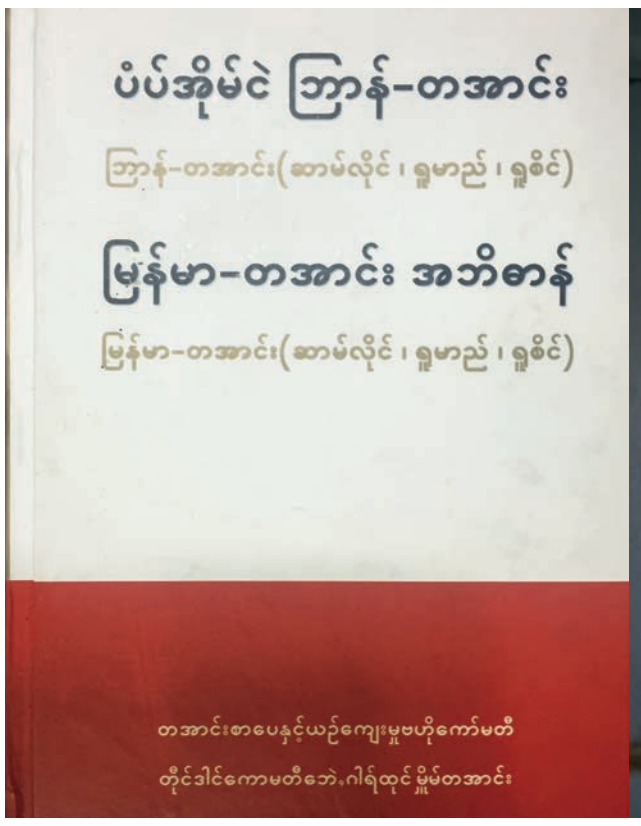
Luckily, Milne included this Rumai material in her dictionary, giving us a glimpse of the diversity of languages she came into contact with during her time with the Palaung. At the back of her Palaung-English dictionary, she adds a section of words from non-Samlong languages, including Rumai, but also languages such as Kyusao, Kumkaw, Tiorai, Omachawn, Kwawnhai, Hupawng, Pangnim, and Ho-mau. To give a taste of the diversity she encountered, let us look at the word for 'day' (in her own notation), in Samlong *sǫ-ngī:,* Rumai *śɛ-ngāi,* Ho-Mau *śa-ngǫ̈-i,* Omachawn *śa-ngāi,* Hupawng *śāu,* and Kyusao *sǭh.* This information was certainly not wasted, as it provided material for linguists to begin systematic work on reconstructing the ancestor of all the current Palaung languages. Linguistic reconstruction is a comparative process that identifies the regular patterns of sound change in the history of a group of related languages. Through these patterns, linguists can show how the contemporary languages have diverged from the parent language, and propose structured relationships among those languages.

Literacy, diversity and diglossia

Milne offered her work as a first attempt to reduce the Palaung language to writing and analyze it. Hers was not, however, the only effort. As Kojima describes in greater detail, Palaungs themselves had started to write their language using Burmese, Shan and Yon scripts, often in conjunction with Buddhist ritual texts. From the outset of such efforts, the Nam Hsan Palaung have been concerned with standardizing the written language as a strategy for Palaung cultural and political survival within the stronger Shan and Burmese worlds. These efforts at standardization form part of a movement to establish an inclusive Ta'ang identity, one that can take part in the changes and opportunities in contemporary Myanmar. In present-day Myanmar, ethnic groups must assert internal coherence and cohesion, while demonstrating inclusiveness, in order to engage with state institutions.

As part of these efforts to create inclusivity, when the Ta'ang Committee for Literature and Culture published the first Burmese-Palaung dictionary (more accurately Burmese-Ta'ang dictionary) in 2012, they included equivalents in three Palaung languages – Samlong, Rumai and Rucing – for each Burmese entry. The dictionary gives the Palaung words in the Burmese-based Samlong script, which gives some sense of the phonological differences between each. At the same time, however, the script obscures some important differences because it was designed for the Samlong language. The main entries for Samlong were done by native speaker members of the Committee, and the list of words was sent to a similar Rumai literacy group in Nam Hkam, who use a similar orthography to represent a language with a slightly different phonological system. The Ruching data was collected by a Nam Hsan scholar, because the literate Ruching use different orthography, similar to the Lanna script. While the dictionary is an important resource, it is important to consider the work done to produce such a dictionary. Here we should recall that the 'reduction' of a language to writing, mentioned by Milne in her introduction, is just that: reducing the variety in a real spoken language to an idealized sound system, often preferring words from a dominant dialect or variety.

There is also a lexicon of Rumai, glossed in Burmese and English, which calls itself a "Ta'ang dictionary". This work also calls to a larger Ta'ang identity being constructed in literary terms, but using the orthography to represent features in the Rumai language that do not exist in Samlong. Despite the historical and linguistic logic that supports Samlong claims to legitimacy as a unifying language, the Rumai have also been developing educational materials, and moving to standardize their variety of the language. I recently heard a Samlong-speaking language planner express consternation



Left: Burmese Ta'ang Dictionary.

Middle: 'Please Speak Quietly' sign from Palaung Monastery.

Right: Palaung (not Ta'ang) Monastery.

Discovering, decoding and deliberating diversity

Above: Image reproduced under a creative commons license courtesy of Fabulousfabs on flickr.

at the Rumai efforts, saying they will only make it harder for Ta'ang literacy to take root in society. Rumai music, however, is popular among young Palaung people, suggesting a possible source of prestige and legitimacy among the upcoming generation of speakers.

A further hurdle facing literacy efforts is that the Samlong language is itself undergoing significant changes. Spoken language is constantly in the natural processes of change. Even as the written language preserves older pronunciations, the language of young people changes. Today, some sounds are being lost. For example, the first syllable of two-syllable words are being reduced, and final consonants are also being lost, or changing. A young speaker of Samlong may pronounce the word *kərgrai* [to chat together] as *kəgrai*. Similarly, a word like *kənbraan* [to be hungry] might be reduced to *kəbraan*. There are also words that only have a simple *kə-* syllable, such as *kətaam* [egg]. A young writer may pronounce the first syllable the same, and will have a difficult time knowing how to spell the words correctly. When the spoken language diverges from the idealized forms in the written language – or more accurately perhaps, when a written language is based on a form of the language which is much more conservative than that of the majority of speakers – a situation of 'diglossia', can arise. In situations of diglossia, the difference between written and spoken language is so great that people learning to read and write the language in effect learn another language. Such is the classic case between written Arabic and the spoken varieties.

Changing lingua franca

In the process of studying Palaung, I have been involved in many conversations that move freely between Palaung, Burmese and Shan. These are the pillars of the typical Palaung linguistic repertoire. Many Palaung people are able to use more than one Palaung variety, in addition to Burmese, Shan, Chinese, and even Jinghpaw. This type of multilingualism is common among upland groups that find themselves embedded in webs of political, economic and religious influence and opportunity. The Palaung are just one example of the dynamism of multilingualism. When we talk of an area such as the Shan state as being multilingual, we are often talking of a situation where many languages are spoken by groups living in close proximity to each other. More interesting than this, is the fact that local people use more than one language in daily life, making language use choices based on their networks of communication. Without the dynamism implied here, the value of the diversity is often overlooked; worse, with a lack of understanding of dynamic multilingualism, diversity is often seen as a hindrance to social organization.

The social context for these decisions is changing quickly. These changes have to do with increased opportunities for formal education, economic development, the attraction of cities and new connections to regional, national and global communities. Young Palaungs commonly speak of two points of change in their language use. The first has to do with their preference for using Burmese with speakers of other Palaung languages. The current generation has usually been educated in Burmese, and tend to have less experience in working out linguistic differences between themselves and speakers of other Palaung varieties. They therefore tend to prefer Burmese as a common language.

The second is the concurrent decline of Shan as a lingua franca among the younger generation. I have observed that with the increased exposure to Burmese, there seems to be an inverse correlation with exposure to Shan. There are many Shan borrowings in Palaung, but competence in the language seems to be in decline. This could be a matter of convenience, but it also likely reflects changing ideas of language prestige. For young Palaung, Burmese is the language of economic opportunity. More and more, they hear of Ta'ang – together with its written form – as a source of cultural pride.

A calendar and ethnic categories

Early in my study of Rumai, a young speaker taught me the saying, "the Palaung people *(khrɨ təʔaaŋ)* all eat sour bamboo shoots". The word khrɨ means 'descendants' or 'relatives', and represents the idea that there is a large grouping of people that share a common history, and if we follow from the reference to bamboo shoots, a common social and cultural background. The common folk classification of Palaung sub-groups includes thirteen types of Palaung. For someone who is starting to learn about Ta'ang and Palaung, the explanation may lie in a look through a calendar with pictures of traditional Palaung clothing, each with the name of a subgroup. It is probably no coincidence that the number of Palaung subgroups perfectly matches the number of pages in a calendar, plus the cover. The Shan do a similar thing throughout Southeast Asia and in Myanmar in particular; 'traditional' dress often marks ethnic groups, and is considered to be especially useful as a visual cue when criteria such as language are so complex. Societies perceive and express internal diversity in a number of ways – language, dress, ritual, kinship, political and economic relations with other groups, and residential patterns, among others. The Palaung sub-group names on the calendar do not correspond, for the most part, with the language varieties known from linguistic research. The calendar highlights the differences in local and international classification schemes based on different criteria and interests.

The principles involved in linguistic classification offers insights into history. Initial efforts to classify Palaung languages provided a picture of how Palaung subgroups were related. Sound changes may relate to movements of people, language contact, or shifting economic or political conditions. The diversity of the Palaung languages has been a focus of the few, but major, efforts to describe the language. This diversity has also featured greatly in evolving ideas about how to create a unified Ta'ang community in contemporary Myanmar; that is, a community that can respond as a group to political and economic opportunities.

The more we learn about the Palaungs and their languages, the more complex the linguistic picture becomes, as does the political project of standardization. We also get a better picture of the depth of diversity within ethnic categories that may or may not be officially recognized. The trade-offs between standardization on the one hand and maintaining diversity on the other are delicate, yet critical matters not only for the Palaung, but for other ethnic groups of Myanmar and the region. Elites may try to push forward standardization in a rush to create unity, but in their efforts, alienate and create ill will among those whose languages are left aside.

The creation of dictionaries is essential to the standardization and codification of any language that has aspirations for official use or as a medium of instruction and writing. A dictionary can be a vital source of information about a language, a culture, a people's history and their knowledge systems. At the same time, a dictionary is emblematic of the political need to reduce diversity in order to engage with official institutions. Milne's Palaung and Burmese-Ta'ang dictionaries demonstrate these dynamics. Future dictionaries – be they of a standardized and unified Ta'ang or of spoken varieties – will highlight the rich diversity of the languages themselves, but will also reflect the difficult decisions made to create them.

Nathan Badenoch, Associate Professor, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Institute for Liberal Arts and Sciences, Kyoto University (badenoch@cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp).

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Hierarchy and contact: re-evaluating the Burmese dialects

We think of Burma as a country of great linguistic and ethnic diversity. The government today classifies the population into 135 'national races', most of which they place under eight larger over-arching categories. The *Ethnologue* website (www.ethnologye.com), which provides information about languages across the globe, says that there are 117 living languages in the country. This discrepancy points to both differences in classification schemes, but also perhaps highlights an expectation – common at least in the English-speaking world – that language and ethnicity should be nearly co-equal. Since the colonial era, indigenous ways of making sense of identity and community, which may or may not have been based on language, have been overtaken by a practice that the British introduced: equating language first with race, and later, as the idea of race evolved, with ethnic group.

Patrick McCormick

Above:
Marma Nuns, Yangon, 2016.

Below left:
Tavoyan Speaker, July 2016.

Photos courtesy of the author.

I EXPLORE THIS INTERSECTION between language, identity, and the equation between language and ethnicity by looking at three examples of variation within the Burmese language itself: among the Rakhaing/Marma, Tavoyan and Intha dialects. Speakers of Rakhaing, which varies comparatively less from Standard Burmese than Tavoyan does, have a separate sense of identity, while many speakers of Tavoyan generally consider themselves to be 'Burman'. Such identifications come out of complex, incompletely understood historical and political contingencies.

Looking at the larger overall picture, in whatever way Burmese dialect speakers think of themselves, their communities occupy a position near the top of local sociolinguistic hierarchies. Much scholarship has focused on the hierarchical interpersonal relations that are prominent features of lowland, court-based Southeast Asian societies. The idea of hierarchy is also useful for understanding how entire languages and their societies stand in relation to each other.

Ethnicity in Burma

In Burma, ethnicity is central to social organization, culture and politics. When the British arrived in the country in 1824, they tried to make sense of the diversity they found. The categories of caste and religion, which they had used in India, were not useful for categorizing the people. The British created a new technology of governance that would allow them to create subjects and, for example, recruit suitable people into the army: they equated language with 'race' to form racial categories. Outside of Burma, this earlier concept of race has gradually evolved into the concept of 'ethnicity' or 'ethnic groups'. Two profound consequences of this first racial (later ethnic) thinking have been that groups of people in Burma have defined and redefined themselves into ethnic identities, where language plays a key, if equivocal role. These identities have been both a cause and consequence of long-standing conflict.

Scholars also disagree about 'ethnicity'; many resist a historicization of ethnicity, that is, a discussion of how ethnicity as a way of understanding and categorizing difference has arisen in a particular context. Some take such arguments as a claim that the British somehow created difference. Others choose to downplay the role of ethnicity, treating it as a sort of political neurosis, a mania for a particular way of organizing the world, of the English-speaking world. I argue that difference among human populations has always existed, and people have always been aware of it. The practices of organizing and understanding difference through ethnicity – solid, singular, non-porous, identities, which are projected into the past – is a recent development stemming from European romantic nationalism.

In Burma, practices and ideologies of race began evolving during the colonial period (1824-1948). Over time, ethnicity has encroached on the earlier practices of identification from the pre-colonial Burmese empires, but which compete with ethnicity. Family and kinship connections, networks of patronage and loyalty, religious and cultural practices have all shaped how people understood themselves and wider communities. Identifications can vary depending on the context. In the pre-colonial period, not everyone who spoke the same language considered themselves to be part of the same community or to have the same identity.

Following the logic of ethnicity, language is central to identifying and recognizing difference. Linguistic scholarship, however, validate or falsify claims of ethnic unity or separation. It can provide insights into how languages and their varieties are connected, how long ago they separated, and how languages function in society. Political and historical processes have created ethnic communities, not language alone. For example, at the level of every day speech, Hindi and Urdu are the same language sharing a common origin, yet politics have divided them into separate languages. On the other hand, as Kojima (in this *Focus*) discusses the Palaung, who speak widely divergent varieties (perhaps even *languages*), nevertheless consider themselves to form one community.

The Burmese language and its varieties in Burma and beyond

Compared with the other national languages of Southeast Asia, Burmese varies little regionally. Out of a population of approximately fifty-two million, thirty-two million speak Burmese as a native language and another ten million speak it as a second language.[1] This relative lack of variation perhaps reflects the fact that the language has spread from Upper Burma, centered in Pagan and Mandalay, only in the past few centuries. Speakers are aware of the minor differences between the speech of Mandalay, Yangon, and Mawlamyaing, but they tend not to attach much meaning to this variation. Rather, they tend to be more attuned to the accents of second-language speakers, which along with visual cues such as physical appearance and clothing, can form the basis of stereotyped evaluations of those second-language speakers.

Dialects differing markedly from Standard Burmese have, however, arisen in geographical areas peripheral to the earlier, historical extent of the language, even into areas that are now other countries. To the far west of Burma, the Rakhaing Yoma mountain range cuts off Rakhaing State from the rest of central Burma. The state covers most of the historical region of Arakan, kingdoms whose power reached well into what is now Bangladesh. Rakhaing is the largest and best-known dialect, with about 800,000 native speakers in Rakhaing State and another 200,000 in Bangladesh. Another million speak Rakhaing as a second language, including speakers of Chin languages, Chakma (Daingnet), and Bengali dialects. Marma is a dialect of Rakhaing spoken by 150,000 people in Bangladesh and another 30,000 in Mizoram and Tripura in Northeast India. The Marma are the only group of Burmese dialect speakers who live entirely outside of Burma, and represent a population who fled Arakan after wars with central Burma in the eighteenth century.

On the other side of the country along the Tenasserim (Taninthāyi) coast, around 400,000 people speak Tavoyan in and around the city of Tavoy (Dawe), control of which has passed between Burmese and Thai courts over the centuries. The Tavoyans possibly came from further north for trade. The sounds of Tavoyan suggest that it broke off from the main body of speakers perhaps as early as the Pagan period (approximately 9th-13th centuries AD), just before Burmese was first written. To this day, the Tavoyan word for Burmans from further north of Tavoy is *ganthà,* literally 'Pagan' + 'child', the first syllable coming from a reduced form of the name of the ancient kingdom, Pagan. Finally, further north, about 90,000 speakers of the Intha dialect live on and around Inle Lake in southern Shan State. Historically, the Shan, who speak a Tai-Kadai language related to Thai, surrounded the Intha. Burmese speakers may have moved to the region as part of a military outpost. There are other Burmese dialects, some of which have been only sporadically described, including the Yaw and Beik (Mergui) varieties, which appear to be fairly close to Standard Burmese, and Taung'yo and Danu, both spoken in Shan State and which appear to more divergent.[2]

Variation and intelligibility

Deciding on the division between 'language' and 'dialect' is fraught with difficulty, and has as much to do with ideology, history and politics, as with any kind of 'objective' assessment of how close or far two speech varieties are. For example, the fact that speakers of two varieties can understand each other does not guarantee that the one group will automatically reject or accept the other as members of their same group. Furthermore, what it means for two varieties to be 'mutually intelligible' also depends on the extent to which the various speakers involved have been exposed to language variation. When dealing with dialects, the influence and prestige of the standard language cannot be discounted – 'standard' forms can often displace dialectal forms. When trying to understand the development of the Burmese language and the dialects, linguists rely on how the Burmese language is written, or 'Written Burmese'. To simplify a little, it preserves the sounds of the language from an earlier period. Written forms, for example, indicate consonant sounds before many of the sweeping sound changes that all spoken forms have undergone in recent centuries.

To understand something of how varieties of the spoken language diverge, we can consider the word for *chicken,* written <KRAK>,[3] which represents an earlier pronunciation. Through a series of sound changes, the modern Burmese pronunciation is /cɛʔ/, but in Rakhaing /kraʔ/. In this instance, Rakhaing seems to be more conservative than Standard Burmese. Judging by British sources, the change of the sound of /r/ to /y/ appears to have been continuing into the nine-

teenth century, and is the origin of such forms as 'Rangoon', which in current pronunciation is *Yangoun*. On the other hand, the word for *temple* or *school,* written /KYOŃḤ/, is /càuŋ/ in Standard Burmese and Rakhaing, but /klɔ̀ŋ/ in Tavoyan. The presence of the 'l' sound in Tavoyan suggests that it preserves a sound that existed in the oldest stages of Burmese, which was first written in the eleventh century AD.

Imagine this kind of change throughout the sound systems, together with differences in vocabulary and a few in syntax (or 'grammar'). Differences in vocabulary can reflect borrowings from other languages. The Standard Burmese word *loungyi* [sarong] comes from Bengali *lungi,* while the Rakhaing word is *təyɔ̀* and the Tavoyan is *ʊəʃɔ̀ŋ,* itself from Malay *sarong*.[4] Other words are simply made up of different native components: 'boy' in Standard Burmese is *kauŋ.gəlè,* literally 'animal + little', compared with Tavoyan *pʰá.sú,* literally 'male + little'. Tavoyan *sú* now occurs only as an element in girls' names in Standard Burmese. The calque is another mode of more subtle borrowing in which native elements replicate a model from another language. 'Chili' in Burmese is *ŋəyouʔ.ʊì,* literally 'pepper + fruit', but Intha *saʔ.ʊì,* literally 'spicy + fruit', replicates Shan *maak pʰit,* 'fruit + spicy'.

Differences in syntax are less numerous. They may include the example of how questions are asked in Intha. For example, *pʰa loʊʔ ne (ha)* for 'what are you doing?' In Burmese, this would *be ba louʔ ne (ʊə) lè*. The final *lè* here indicates a relative question (that is, involving who, what, where, when, who), and may be dropped off in very casual speech in some circumstances. In Intha, however, it appears to be normal to leave it off or even replace it with the *ha,* apparently from Shan. The other dialects follow Standard Burmese in this regard.

Changing names, changing identifications?

Dealing with the names of languages, peoples, and what we call 'ethnonyms' today is in general highly problematic. The exact content of a term, or the people and situations in which a term is used, can change radically over time. People themselves change names and reinterpret them. One such example in English is the term 'Dutch', which refers to the language of the Netherlands but is cognate with the name Germans have for themselves and their language, Deutsch.

When dealing with Burmese dialect speakers, we see similar shifts and changes. In Burmese English, today the official name of the country, language and people is *Myanmar,* written <MRANMĀ>. The form <BAMĀ>, the origin of such terms as *Burma* and *Burman* in English and *Bamā* or *Bamar* in Burmese English, is from the same word, through a particular sound change. According to interviews I conducted in 2016, Rakhaings call themselves *rɔʔkʰaiŋ* and their language *rɔʔkʰaiŋ.zəgɔ̀,* literally 'Rakhaing' + 'language'. Marmas call themselves *mərəma* and their language *mərəma.ɟəgɔ̀.* We have already seen how the sound change from r to y has affected Standard Burmese, so the connection between *Marma* and *Myanma* is immediate and intriguing. In the nineteenth century, British officials such as Hamilton found that terms like *Rakhaing* and *Yanbye* referred only to local parts of Arakan, and that the people of Arakan used *Maramā* to refer to themselves. They also used the terms *Maramā-grī* and *Mranmā-grī.* Today, however, this term refers only to the Baruas, the Bengali-speaking Buddhist population of what is now Bangladesh.

Tavoyans tend to call themselves *Bamā,* the same as the Standard Burmese name of the ethnic majority, and their language *bəmagà,* although sometimes (particularly for ideological reasons), some call themselves *dəwɛ* and their language *dəwɛgà.* Inthas call themselves *ʔènsà* and their language *ʔèn.səkà.* British sources also use 'Dawe' for Intha. Whether this was a local appellation or some kind of classificatory confusion remains to be investigated. British scholars tried to draw connections between the various dialect speakers.

Such variation in names seem to index as much emerging categories as historical and political developments (the rise of nationalism, the political benefits of being an ethnic group), and emerging schemes of knowledge. These last include developing linguistic classifications, and government technologies of governance, starting with British practices and evolving over time, through to the most recent government census of 2014. A final element is no doubt people's own lived experiences, in which earlier pre-colonial practices, such as having multiple or shifting identities, was possible and normal. One way to understand the shift in the meaning of *Mranmā-grī* is to note that, in what is now Bangladesh, Rakhaings are a Buddhist community with close ties to the highly institutionalized and prestigious Burmese Buddhism. If Buddhist practices were less organized or institutionalized among the Barua, they would seek training and ordination in Rakhaing institutions, where they would become exposed to the language and thus in a sense 'become' a kind of Rakhaing.

Positioning Burmese and its dialects hierarchically

In whatever way the speakers of these Burmese dialects evaluate themselves, they appear to be at or near the top of the local language hierarchy. Whatever the names for themselves and their languages, dialect speakers tend to have the same status as Burmans in the language ecology. My observation comes out of a body of scholarship on multi-lingualism and language contact. In situations where there is multilingualism – people regularly speaking many languages – the overall trend is that who speaks what language, or who does and does not learn a specific language, reflects where speech communities fall on a hierarchy. A corollary of 'learning up' is that speakers of lower-placed languages can replicate both matter (usually thought of as 'borrowings') and *patterns* (or 'syntax') by reanalyzing native words or forms and using them in the same way as the model language.

Said another way, people tend to learn the languages higher up on the hierarchy and not the other way. Inside Burma, the general trend is that the more languages one speaks, the lower one is on the hierarchy. Slightly confusingly, higher status languages live in *lower* altitudes – the lowlands and in mountain valleys – and lower status language speakers live in *higher* altitudes – the uplands, highlands, and mountains. An example from the Kachin world would be a Maru or Lhaovo speaker, who will also know Jinghpaw and Burmese, and possibly Shan or Chinese. Jinghpaw and Shan speakers would not learn Lhaovo unless they had family connections. Burmese rarely learn minority languages, learning instead English and such economically useful languages as Korean or Japanese. Parallels outside of Burma are many, such as eastern Europeans who learn many western European languages for work and education opportunities, but not vice-versa.

This trend of speaking and replicating up is a general pattern, and there are important exceptions. The kind of multilingualism meant here is long-term and stable, and a not rapid language shift. Certain populations will learn languages lower on the hierarchy, such as Chinese and other traders who learn many languages to facilitate business. Absolute numbers can make a crucial difference: in some parts of lower Burma, where the Mons are the local majority, some Burmese do in fact learn Mon. Based purely on linguistic observation, in Bangladesh, a Muslim-majority country, the Bengali language stands above Marma and Rakhaing, yet within local Buddhist communities, Rakhaing and Marma are at the apex. The situation in Bangladesh highlights the importance of Burmese Buddhism, with its great prestige and institutional complexity. The Burmese government in fact indirectly supports Buddhism in Bangladesh, by facilitating monks from there coming to Burma to study.

Absolute numbers may also help explain the phonological situation in some of the Burmese dialects. Historically, apparently Shans learned Intha but not the other way around, and speakers of Karen languages around Tavoyan learn Tavoyan but not the other way around. When large numbers of speakers speak a higher-status language, they may take with them certain speech habits. If the higher-status language is spoken by a fairly small number of people, the surrounding speech habits may work their way into the speech of monolinguals. Following this observation, Intha lacks the sound /θ/, having instead /s/, which represents the influence of Shan.

If we look at Tavoyan 'on the page', at how each word in a Tavoyan sentence corresponds with Standard Burmese, the two are quite close once we understand how older sounds in each variety have shifted down to the present. But when we *listen* to Tavoyan, it is at first strikingly, incomprehensibly different for most speakers of Standard Burmese. The prosody or intonation is quite different, lacking the drawn-out sounds that Burmese uses for emphasis. There is the presence of the /l/ as in /klɔ̀ŋ/ [school], and the nasal vowels of Standard Burmese are often not nasalized. Finally, the sounds /b/ and /d/ often sound 'imploded' as /ɓ/ /ɗ/ as in Khmer or Vietnamese (see Jenny's essay in this *Focus*). These exact points of difference may have parallels in the Karen languages. In linguistically assimilating to Tavoyan, they may have carried these features over into Tavoyan speech. I caution, however, that much more work would have to be done to thoroughly describe all aspects of the sound systems of the dialects *and* of the language(s) they have come into contact with before we can make such assumptions certain.

In conclusion, a sense of difference, social distance, ideas of allegiance and patronage may no doubt be quite old, but how language feeds into the creation and maintenance of difference is equivocal. Linguistic scholarship alone cannot make or break an ethnic identification, but it can provide useful insights into how speech communities relate to each other. Studying sound changes is a big part of what the study of historical linguistics is. The question of how the sound system of Old Burmese developed into what we now hear in Burmese and the dialects may seem to be the arcane concern of latter-day philologists being paid cushy money from European universities. But sound change can offer direct insights into historical and social processes. Linguistic data thus is a form of historical evidence.

Patrick McCormick, Researcher, Department of Comparative Linguistics, University of Zürich, and École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Yangon (mccormick.efeo@gmail.com)

Below:
Women on Tractor, Inle Lake. Image reproduced under a creative commons license courtesy of fabulousfabs on flickr.

References

1 Numbers throughout are from the Ethnologue website, www.ethnologue.com

2 In August 2016, I interviewed Danu and Taung'yo speakers near Pindaya in Shan State. Both groups seem to have a distinct sense of identity.

3 Following convention, forms between brackets <> represent transliterations from another alphabet (here Burmese), while forms between slashes // represent sounds.

4 Okell, J. 1995. "Three Burmese dialects", in D. Bradley (ed.) 1995. *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics no. 13: Studies in Burmese Languages,* Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Australian National University, pp.1-138.

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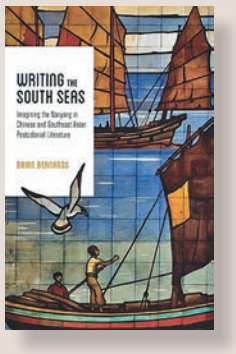

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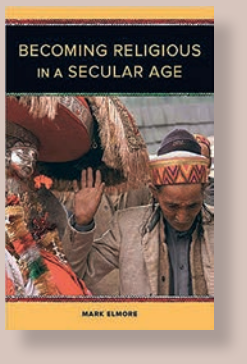

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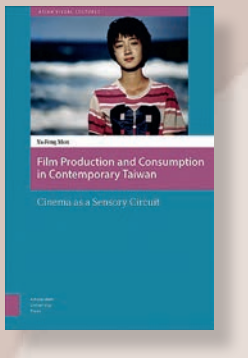

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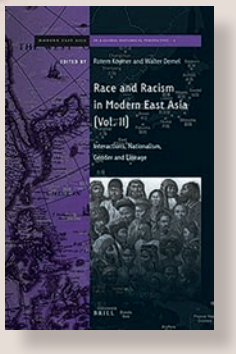

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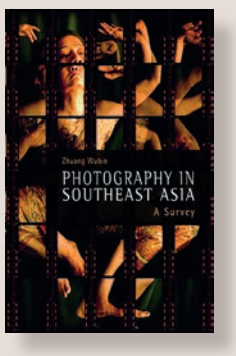

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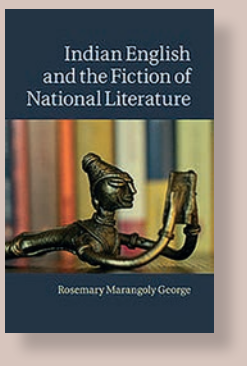

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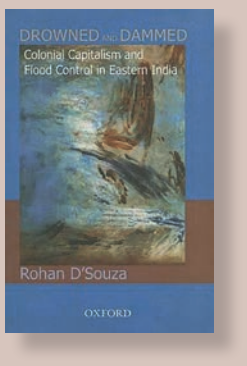

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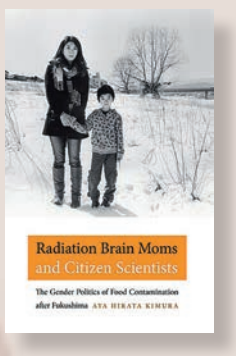

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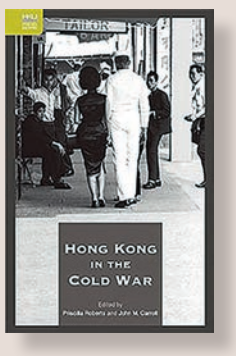

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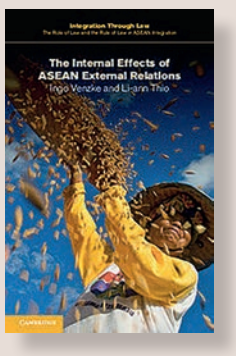

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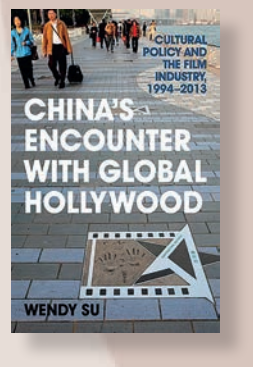

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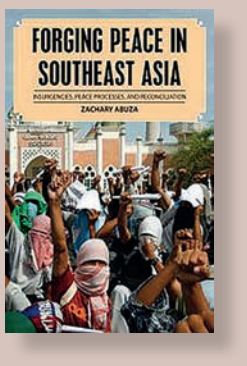

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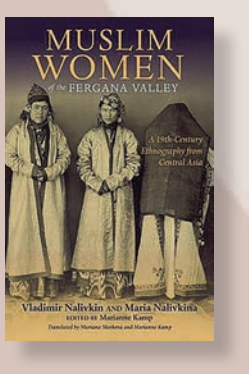

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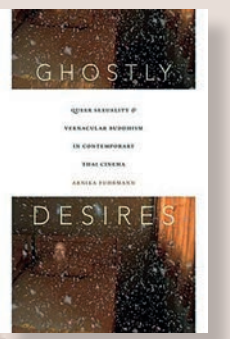

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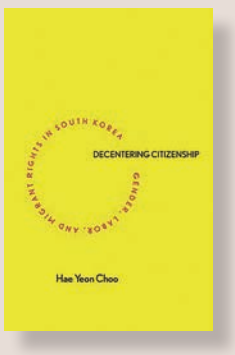

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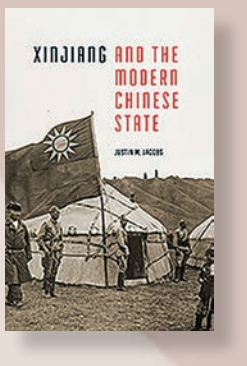

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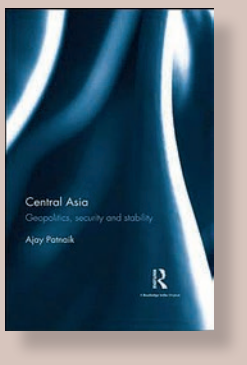

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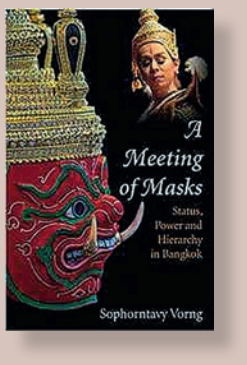

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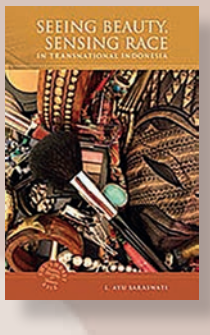

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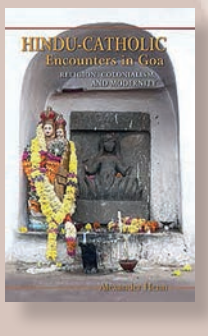

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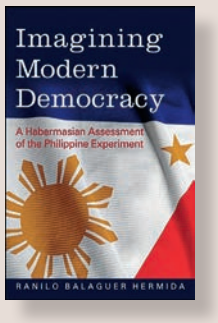

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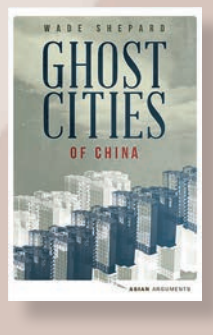

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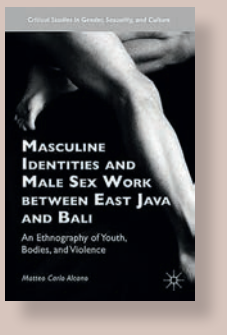

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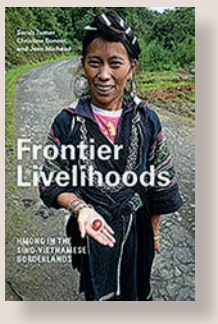

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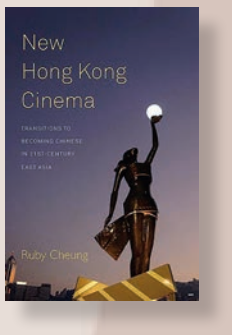

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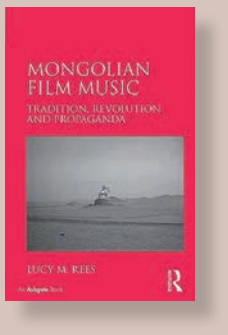

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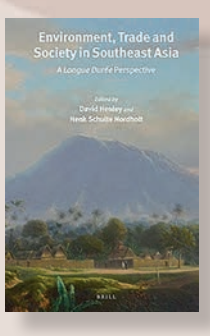

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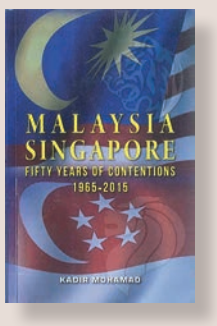

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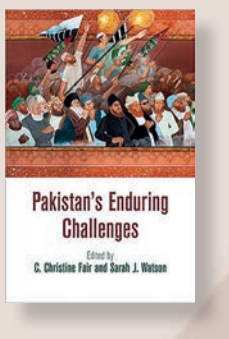

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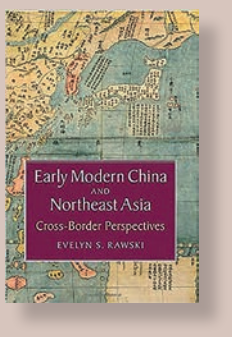

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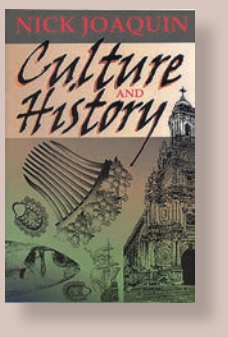

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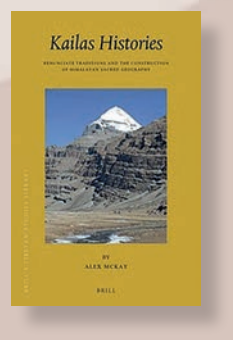

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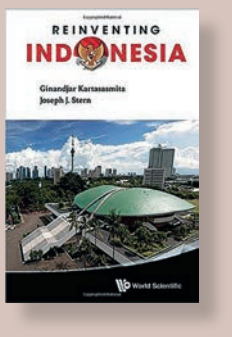

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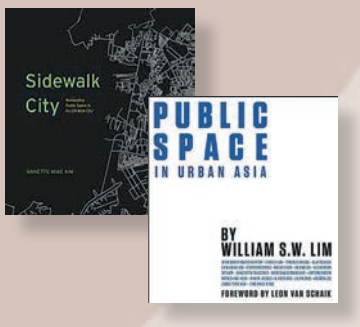

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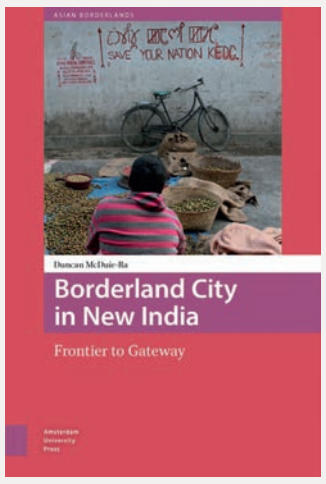

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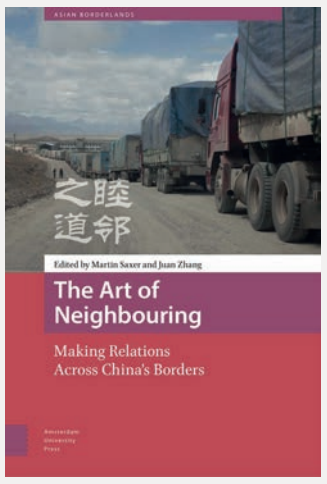

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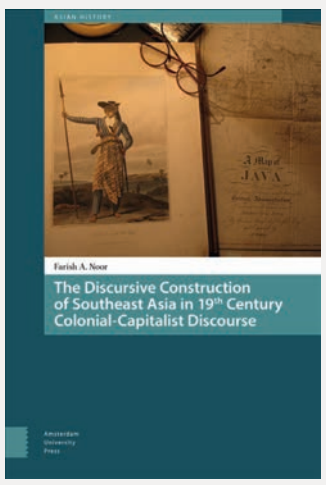

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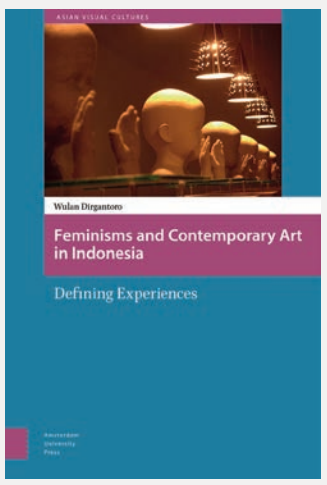

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These new mobilities reflect profound transformations of Asian societies and their relationship to the world, impacting national identities and creating new migration policy regimes, modes of transnational politics, consumption practices, and ideas of modernity. The series will, for the first time, bring together studies by historians, anthropologists, geographers, and political scientists that systematically explore these changes.

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Proposals Welcome
The series welcomes scholarly monographs and edited volumes in English by both established and early-career researchers.

Series Editor
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Amsterdam University Press

IIAS Announcements

2017 will be the Leiden Asia Year

All the 2017 Asia-related activities of the University will be brought together on www.leidenasiayear.nl. Additions will be made to the programme over the coming months.

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY, home to IIAS, will be dedicating 2017 to Asia. Throughout the 'Leiden Asia Year', the university will be organising symposia, conferences, lectures and exhibitions, all on the theme of Asia, in close collaboration with the municipality of Leiden, its museums and other Leiden-based organisations. The Leiden Asia Year was announced by Rector Magnificus Professor Carel Stolker on 5 September 2015, on the occasion of the Opening of the Academic Year.

The Leiden Asia Year has been prompted by the upcoming opening of 'The Asian Library' in 2017. As announced in an earlier issue of The Newsletter, this new facility is currently being built on top of the main building of the Leiden University Libraries, and will bring together under one roof some of the foremost collections in the world, from and about Asia. The Asian Library is one of IIAS's most valued partners in Leiden, as it is the Official Sponsor of the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) Book Prize.

Above:
Current construction of the Asia Library at the Leiden University Libraries (Oct 2016)

IIAS will be organising and participating in a number of activities taking place in Leiden during the Leiden Asia Year. The first that has already been scheduled is the symposium 'Collecting Asia', to take place on 17 March 2017. This symposium aims to describe the history of Asian-Leiden connections and to showcase the written (digitised) sources and the wealth of material culture present at Leiden University. It will also look at current heritage practices taking place on the Asian continent. Additional events for which dates have been set include the seminar 'Reflections on India and China' in April, to be convened by IIAS visiting professor Pralay Kanungo, who currently holds the Indian Council for Cultural Relations Chair for the Study of Contemporary India at IIAS/LIAS (Leiden University Institute for Area Studies); and an afternoon meeting in Leiden, on 12 October, to introduce the academic community to the biennial International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS; co-organised by IIAS), whose 11th edition will potentially be organised in Leiden in the summer of 2019 (ICAS 10 will take place in Chiang Mai, Thailand, from 20-23 July 2016; www.icas.asia). Plans for other activities are still being developed, and will possibly include a Winter School for PhD students about food and food waste in Asia, to be organised together with Leiden University.

The full-day Grand Opening of The Asian Library is scheduled for 14 September 2017. Different events are being organised for the week of 11 to 17 September. These include a 'Mapping Asia' exhibition, an international symposium on the history of cartography featuring old Asian maps, a symposium and exhibition on Asian cuisine and culinary activities, smaller pop-up exhibitions and a range of lectures. The film hall of The Asian Library will be used for showing short films during the CinemAsia Film Festival.

The considerable efforts involved in the construction of the Asian Library demonstrate how a focus on Asia, going back to almost the beginning of the University in 1575, is as alive today as it ever was. Dutch trading endeavours in the East from the beginning of the 17th century, fortunately, went hand in hand with scientific explorations of Asia's rich biodiversity driven by the Hortus botanicus Leiden, and later with the systematical study of Asian cultures and societies. Today, this is reflected by the many collections from Asia, including unique manuscripts, rare printed books, letters and other archival materials, as well as by a strong focus on Asia in research and education, not only in the Humanities with its renowned Asian language and cultures programmes, but also in such areas as Law and the (Social) Sciences. Significantly, Leiden is, in addition to IIAS, home to a number of other institutes focusing on Asia, including the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV), the National Museum of Ethnology, and the Siebold Japan Museum.

LEIDEN ASIA YEAR

The mind envisioned through creativity: Chinese outsider art at the Outsider Art Museum

24 November 2016 - 5 June 2017
Outsider Art Museum (OAM), located in the Hermitage Amsterdam. OAM is run by The Dolhuys, Museum of the Mind, situated in Haarlem, a mere 15 minutes from downtown Amsterdam
www.outsiderartmuseum.nl; www.hetdolhuys.nl

RECENTLY THE FIRST OUTSIDER ART MUSEUM (OAM) in the Netherlands opened its doors in the Hermitage Amsterdam. This museum shows leading art works by outsider artists from all over the world. Finally there is a permanent podium for 'invisible' artists who are not represented in the art world and who create works by following their inner voice.

Creativity is at the core of the Outsider Art Museum. When entering the Outsider Art Museum in the Hermitage Amsterdam one is welcomed by art that looks different than anything you encounter in other galleries or museums. Bright colors, edge-to-edge filled drawings and three-dimensional fantasy figures. Passionate and unique expressions give way to the artists' inner world; their dreams, fears, fascinations and preferences are on display. Looking at the paintings we can see a glimpse of the soul of the artist. Although this is the case for many artists, the fact that these creators do not follow the conformist art rules, gives them free rein.

Notable are the similar themes that emerge in outsider art, regardless of geography and cultural backgrounds. Dreams, fears, nightmares, religion as hope, overwhelming forces and systems with which the artists try to make sense of the world around them, can be detected. Are they in contact with each other? Do they know each other's work? Not at all. They follow their inner voice, and remarkably use a similar expressive language.

Chinese outsider art

This fall the OAM is participating in the first Sino-Dutch exchange exhibition of outsider art. This extraordinary exhibition features multiple artworks by Chinese outsider artists, as well as new pieces from the Dutch outsider art collection. The audience will have the unique opportunity to compare and admire outsider art from these two very different countries.

This international exchange is a joint project of The Dolhuys and the Chinese Federation for Disabled People, with Guo Haiping as curator for the Chinese artwork. Guo Haiping strives to raise awareness and interest for the outsider art genre in China. This awareness is giving a voice to a group of people struggling to find their place in society. The artwork being displayed in the Outsider Art Museum is of great significance for both artists and their families, as well as a sign of recognition of their work in the international art world.

Hans Looijen, director of The Dolhuys, Museum of the Mind & Outsider Art Museum

IIAS lecture in the museum

Prof. Jeroen de Kloet, Director of the Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies, University of Amsterdam (http://jeroendekloet.nl) will host a lecture at the Outsider Art Museum in the context of this exhibition, in January 2017. The exact date will be made available soon.

Please contact Heleen van der Minne at h.m.van.der.minne@iias.nl for more information, or if you would like to attend this lecture

Urban Knowledge Network Asia – An update

Thanks to four years of EU-funded research exchanges in combination with a series of supporting activities, the Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA) has developed into one of the most significant and dynamic urban research networks in the world to focus on Asian cities. Growing from its core membership in China, India, Western Europe and the USA, UKNA now includes additional partners in Southeast Asia and 'Greater China'. Hopefully, a number of other universities in Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia will be able to join the UKNA network in the near future as well.

Gien San Tan, IIAS/UKNA

Human flourishing in Asian cities

Consisting of over 100 researchers with affiliations at 17 institutes in Europe, China, India and the United States, the Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA) represents the largest global academic network on Asian cities. UKNA's objective is to nurture contextualised and policy relevant knowledge on Asian cities, seeking to influence policy by contributing insights that put people at the centre of urban governance and development strategies.

UKNA's common vision provides the overarching framework for the network's activities and planned research outputs. It represents the common ground for all partners in the diverse network, encompassing scholars in the social scientists, humanities, the natural sciences and the arts, across 3 continents. The key message of the common vision is that UKNA focuses on 'human flourishing and the creative production of urban space' in Asian cities. The justification for this focus is the realization that most other urban research projects are preoccupied with macro-level topics such as urban infrastructure, architecture and/or the natural environment; human beings appear to be missing in these schemes. The UKNA partners saw an urgent need to bring the well-being ('flourishing') of human beings (whether urban residents, migrants, and/or citizens) back into the urban research and policy focus. The vision emphasizes 'immediate problem solving as well as the identification of long-term, transformative processes that increase the scope for the active engagement of people in the creative production and shaping of the City'.

Four years of staff exchanges

On 31 March 2016, our Marie Curie Actions/IRSES funding (2012-2016) from the European Union came to an end. We can look back on a very successful first four years. Thanks to EU research mobility support, 146 UKNA scholars and practitioners were able to carry out 206 research exchanges at 12 different UKNA partner institutes. These research exchanges have succeeded in bringing the network partners closer together, around collaborative research initiatives, roundtable and seminar activities on a variety of urban topics in East and South Asia, with comparative cases from European cities.

Publications

Editors from across the UKNA network are currently busy submitting for peer review three edited volumes for publication in the 'Asian Cities' book series of Amsterdam University Press/IIAS. The three volumes – entitled "Ideas of the City in Asia", "Cities by and for the People" and "Future Challenges of Cities in Asia" – contain the work of many researchers who have taken part in the UKNA research staff exchange scheme during the past four years, as well as that of selected external scholars.

Upcoming events

UKNA's annual roundtable will take place this year in Delhi, from 16-20 December. UKNA partners Ambedkar University Delhi (AUD), the Jawaharlal Nehru University Institute of Advanced Study and the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) will jointly organize two exciting events in Delhi on the theme of "heritage and infrastructure in the city". The theme focuses on unpacking the city of Delhi through layers of lived history and heritage, urban infrastructure, ecological landscapes and architectural histories.

The first activity is a roundtable on "Urban heritage and a decentralized city museum" (16-17 December). The second activity is a seminar on "Basic urban services in Delhi: citizens, state/policy and politics" (19-20 December). In between the two activities, there will be a guided excursion to the Delhi neighbourhood of Mehrauli, including a visit to its archaeological park and to a new pop-up museum. The multi-disciplinary nature of the Delhi event and the interactive discussion format of both activities characterizes the approach of UKNA and IIAS towards the study of Asian cities.

Moving forward

Even now that the IRSES research exchange funding has ended, the UKNA network will continue. The number of institutional partners in the network continues to grow, as does the number of institutions (both academic and non-academic) and scholars who seek to collaborate with UKNA. Our ambition remains to be an inclusive network that brings together concerned scholars and practitioners engaged in collaborative research on cities in Asia. Our network continues to influence policy by contributing insights that put people at the centre of urban governance and development strategies, with "human flourishing in Asian cities" as our vision.

We will keep you informed about further developments and activities through the Newsletter and via updates on the UKNA website (www.ukna.asia).

Mike Douglass and UKNA: Envisioning human flourishing in resilient Asian cities

Rituparna Roy

DO YOU LIVE IN AN ASIAN CITY? If yes, then how would you describe it? Is it a Mega City? Smart City? Eco City? Is it Resilient? Flourishing? Progressive? Is it a Metropolis or a Globopolis? Do all the adjectives above sound similar to you? Rest assured they are not! Important criteria separate the definitions – and lived realities – of one from the other. Curious about those criteria? Then the person you must meet is Prof. Mike Douglass - who has been engaged with both the theory and practice of urban planning in Asia for more than four decades.

Mike Douglass is Professor and Leader of the Asian Urbanisms Cluster at the Asia Research Institute (one of UKNA's partner institutes), and Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (National University of Singapore). He was recently in Leiden to give a lecture at the International Institute for Asian Studies.

In his insightful lecture, Douglass emphasized that it is no longer enough, or even advisable, for Asian cities of the 21st century to be 'mega' – what they need instead is 'resilience' to tackle the onslaughts of climate change, and the understanding to put 'human flourishing' at the heart of the urbanization enterprise.

One of the biggest challenges facing Asian cities today is natural disasters like flooding and earthquakes – and their management. It is even more challenging when it is a 'compound disaster'; an example would be Japan in 2011 where an earthquake led to a tsunami, which in turn led to a nuclear disaster with long-term devastations. What is most crucial to prevent such tragedies from happening is 'disaster preparedness', but unfortunately most Asian cities (including Jakarta, Manila, Hong-Kong, Shanghai, Beijing, Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Dhaka and Karachi) are 'critically unprepared' in this respect.

Whenever we talk of a 21st century city, the vision that is usually conjured up is that of Skyscrapers and New Towns, Malls and Superhighways, with some 'Mega-project' or other always under construction. In effect, what they have led to is the corporatization of cities; and that, in turn, has resulted in increasing disparities in well-being among citizens and decreasing participatory governance. It has also led to the disappearance of the 'city' as we know it. As Saskia Sassen rightly pointed out in her 2015 *Guardian* article, 'Who owns our cities': "We are witnessing large scale corporate buying of whole pieces of cities. [...] They raise the density of the city, but they actually de-urbanise it – density is not enough to have a city. If the current large-scale buying continues, we will lose this type of city making that has given our cities their cosmopolitanism. One that alters the historic meaning of the city. Such a transformation has deep and significant implications for equity, democracy and rights."

There's no gainsaying the fact that there has been a concerted effort in the last few decades in many Asian cities towards sustainable development. Hence the recent vogue of 'Eco Cities' and 'Smart Cities' – the former aiming to live in harmony with, and without damaging the environment; and the latter being basically 'wired' cities, seeking to address public issues via ICT-based solutions. The noble intentions notwithstanding, what is missing in the whole enterprise - according to Douglass - is conviviality. Smart Cities are smart and efficient (at least in theory), but they are also automated and anonymous. They lack a sense of community – which is a basic human need. "In human happiness", as Lisa Peattie reminds us, "creative activity and a sense of community count for at least as much and maybe more than material standard of living." What is thus required is the conception of cities as Convivial Spaces – surrounded by human scale architecture, with open public spaces, making use of local cultural practice and with scope for vernacular place-making, that is inclusive and allows for spontaneity.

In short, Douglass thinks that the need of the hour is a different model: not merely 'Sustainable', but 'Livable', 'Progressive' cities – whose hallmarks (apart from conviviality) are inclusion and justice; and which have 'Human Flourishing' (rather than 'Economic Growth') as their core objective. In order to achieve this, Douglass is emphatic that Asian cities should NOT follow the UN 'Sustainable Development' model, where Economy, Environment and Society are separate entities that intersect at only one point; instead, what should be nurtured is a more holistic approach, where the Economy is seen as embedded in Society, and human Society is seen as an organic part of Nature.

UKNA and the bridging of theory and practice

Many of the problems of urbanization in Asia actually stem from the fact that there is a huge gap between theory and practice when it comes to urban planning. And it is precisely in this respect that Prof. Douglass considers the work of UKNA to be very important – as it is an inclusive network that brings together both scholars and practitioners in collaborative research on cities in Asia.

In his words: "There are not many places like it. Interdisciplinary, for one thing. It takes on contemporary issues, not just historical and others. Then there are many, like Paul himself [Paul Rabe, Co-ordinator of UKNA], who like 'practice'. So, it's unique. And it's providing a realm that no other institution is filling. If I look, for example... most Area Studies, if it is in India, it's about India; if it's in China, it's about China. So, they are all very regionally restricted. They are often just pure Humanities, or Social Sciences, and don't get into any kind of real role actually. And they are not trying to build institutions in other parts of the world. Like UKNA, with double Masters Degrees. So, I think it really needs support. And it's unfortunate that all of the indicators have to be quantitative. Because its imprint is much more vast. It is a good idea."


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- China's nine-dash line, international law, and the Monroe Doctrine analogy **Shirley V. Scott**
- The Senkaku Shoto/Diaoyu Islands and Okinotorishima disputes: Ideational and material influences **Senan Fox**

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- Confucius institutes and the limitations of China's global cultural network **Zhenjie Yuan, Junwanguo Guo and Hong Zhu**
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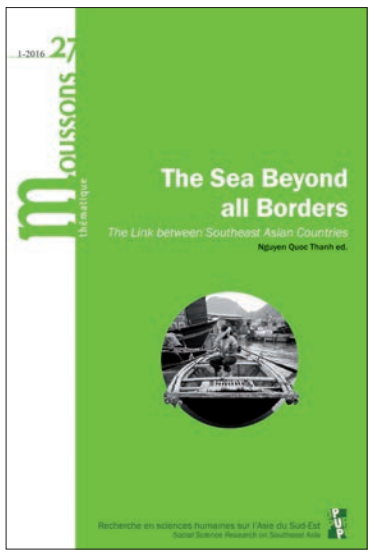

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IIAS Announcements

Vietnam & Korea as 'longue durée' subject of comparison: from the pre-modern to the early modern periods

Conference, 3-4 March 2017; Hanoi, Vietnam

THIS CONFERENCE is the first of a two-part conference "In comparison: Korea and Vietnam in history", an initiative directed by IIAS, and jointly organized by Seoul National University, Asia Centre (Seoul), Vietnam National University (Hanoi), International Institute for Asian Studies (Leiden), Leiden University (Leiden) and École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris). The second part, focusing on the contemporary Korean and Vietnamese conditions from 1945 onward, will be held in Korea in the following year.

"Vietnam and Korea as 'longue durée'" will focus on these two major regional nations and societies in Asia; as great kingdoms in the pre-modern period they developed, sometimes within and sometimes outside of the Sinitic 'tributary' system, strong political organizations and original civilizations. The vicissitudes of the modern and contemporary periods, first with the experience of colonial subjugation, then international warfare and civil conflicts resulting in division of the two countries set much connections and parallels in the two countries' trajectories. Today, Vietnam and Korea continue to stand at the edge of the two great ideological systems that shaped the twentieth century, socialism and capitalism, yet in a divergent ways – Vietnam being reunified and having entered post-communist-pro-capitalist State authoritarianism while Korea remains divided between two models of statehood and governance.

This conference is conceived as an exploratory exercise to identify points of connections in which scholars of Vietnam and Korea could confront their work and engage their paradigms. As an ongoing project historically grounded in contemporary perspective situated within the larger Asia-global spectrum, as well as for practical sake, the conference will focus on two conventionally agreed historiographies of the countries: their 'pre-modern' and 'colonial' periods. An underlying question the conference aims to address is how the Korean and Vietnamese states and their civil societies, concepts that shaped during the tributary system, became formulated during the modernisation period.

Info and registration: www.iias.asia/vietnamkorea
Proposals are no longer being accepted for the conference.

Call for applications

'Weaving Knowledge': Summer School on Lanna weaving & dyeing

6-23 July 2017; Chiang Mai, Thailand
Sponsored by the Center for Science & Society, Columbia University (USA), Chiang Mai University, IIAS, and the Dorothy Borg Foundation.
Co-convenors: Nussara Tiengkate, Pamela H. Smith, Annapurna Mamidipudi

THIS TWO-WEEK WORKSHOP aims to engage both the theory and practice of craft knowledge by requiring participants to learn the Lanna techniques of weaving alongside expert weavers, while engaging with the scholarly challenge of making embodied craft knowledge explicit. As the students are trained in crafts by practitioners in a weaving workshop near Chiang Mai, they will discuss concepts such as tacit expertise and technological literacy, pedagogy in sensory and material knowledge, innovation and sustainability in traditional technological cultures, with the practitioners, as well as invited scholars and activists in history, anthropology, and sociology from around the world. Set in the rural environment around Chiang Mai, this workshop will bring together three conveners: one historian of science and technology, one weaving/craft expert, and one scholar of development practice in craft, to guide the group of doctoral candidates in reflexive practice – both of weaving and writing.

For more information, see http://iias.asia/summerschool2017

IIAS Annual Lecture 2016 with Peter Frankopan

After the Silk Roads: Asia, Europe, and the Discovery of the Americas
Thursday, 8 December 2016, 4pm
Leiden University Academy Building, Leiden, the Netherlands

HISTORIAN DR PETER FRANKOPAN is Senior Research Fellow at Worcester College (University of Oxford) and Director of the Oxford Centre for Byzantine Research. He works on the history of the Mediterranean, Russia, the Middle East, Persia, Central Asia and beyond, and on relations between Christianity and Islam. He also specializes in medieval Greek literature, and translated *The Alexiad* for Penguin Classics (2009). Following his much acclaimed book *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (2012), he published *The Silk Roads: A New History of the World in 2015,* which was *The Daily Telegraph's* History Book of the Year 2015, and in July 2016, the paperback topped the *Sunday Times Non-Fiction* charts. The British historian William Dalrymple described the book as a "historical epic of dazzling range, ambition and achievement" (Observer).

For the 2016 IIAS Annual Lecture, Peter Frankopan will discuss the fascinating history of the relations between Europe and Asia after the demise of the Silk Roads and following the European discovery of the Americas. The discovery of the maritime routes between Western Europe and Asia have often been described as the main contributing factor to the end of the Silk Roads and the cause of a drastically changed relationship between Asia and Europe. However, at the time that the first Portuguese and Spanish sailors set foot in South and Southeast Asia, they also discovered the enormous mineral wealth of the Americas. This development not only had a disastrous influence on local societies and cultures in the Americas, but also enriched the colonial Spanish and Portuguese empires and enabled them to expand their influence and maritime trade across large swaths of Asia. It provided the wealth to buy local products much in demand in Europe, thereby also affecting the local economies of South, Southeast and East Asia.

Registration is required.
Please register by webform at www.iias.nl/frankopan.

International MA Double Degree 'Critical Heritage Studies of Asia & Europe'

IN MARCH AND APRIL THIS YEAR, the final official documents were signed for the establishment of an international Double Degree MA programme in 'Critical Heritage Studies of Asia and Europe'. Initiated by IIAS and built upon a series of workshops and conferences organised since 2010, this Double Degree programme involves the Leiden University Institute for Area Studies, the Department of Anthropology of the College of Liberal Arts (National Taiwan University), the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, College of Engineering (National Taiwan University), and the Graduate School of International Studies (Yonsei University, South Korea).

Concretely, the Double Degree programme consists of an independent one-year MA course at Leiden University, which, upon completion, is recognised as part of an independent two-year MA programme at one of the Asian partner universities. In this way, students from National Taiwan University and Yonsei University can spend the second year of their two to three year MA studies at Leiden University. Vice versa, graduates of the Leiden University MA programme can choose to do a consecutive second year of heritage studies at one of the three partner institutions in Asia. Upon successful completion of the Double Degree programme, students will have obtained two separate MA degrees, one from their home university and one from the partner institution, and a certificate for the Double Degree in Critical Heritage Studies of Asia and Europe, issued by the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS).

The institutions involved in the Double Degree programme consider Asia as a fertile source of both theoretical and methodological insights in the highly contested area of heritage. Since colonial times, European-based concepts and technical approaches to conservation have dominated the understanding of heritage in Asia, in most cases through the top-down imposition of ideas and processes. It is this hegemonic discourse, usually promoted by developmentalist states in Asia and elsewhere, as well as various processes of indigenous response, that the Double Degree programme intends to highlight. The programme focuses in particular on the politics of heritage and the questions of its legitimacy. Who controls heritage? What is the role of heritage in the constructed narratives of nationalism? How is heritage being used as a cultural practice to shape the discourses on nation-building and nation-branding?

The courses will prepare students to work in academic research, spatial planning, museum management, tourism industries, and heritage conservation across Europe and Asia. Students will study heritage as a means of rethinking relations between Asia and Europe in terms of mutual respect and exchange.

The Double Degree is an initiative of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) at Leiden University, which for some years has been promoting the field of critical heritage studies through courses, workshops, conferences, and publications. It also forms part of the wider ambition of IIAS to spread the production of knowledge about Asia by establishing a platform for continuing dialogues between universities located in Asia and beyond.

For further information, please contact:
Dr Elena Paskaleva, IIAS, Leiden (e.g.paskaleva@hum.leiden.nl).
Dr Jin-Fu Liu, Department of Anthropology of the College of Liberal Arts, National Taiwan University (anthro@ntu.edu.tw).
Prof. Liling Huang, Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, College of Engineering, National Taiwan University (liling@ntu.edu.tw).
Dr Kim Souk Woo, Graduate School of International Studies, Yonsei University, South Korea (sassy@yonsei.ac.kr).

Dynamic borderlands: livelihoods, communities & flows

5th Conference of the Asian Borderlands Research Network
12-14 December 2016; Kathmandu, Nepal

THE 5TH ASIAN BORDERLANDS CONFERENCE in Kathmandu, Nepal, from 12-14 December 2016, is organised by Social Science Baha, the Asian Borderlands Research Network (ABRN) and the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS).

Placing special emphasis on borders and cross-border flows of people and objects that have not been highlighted in previous conferences, conference panels will address questions such as: What new borderland flows, corridors and paths are (or have been) taking shape, and what impacts do they have on livelihoods and communities; How can we use these Asian cases to rethink social theories of various kinds? Anyone interested in the theme is welcome to attend. Registration is required.

Information and registration:
www.asianborderlands.net

IIAS Research and Projects

IIAS research and other initiatives are carried out within a number of thematic clusters in phase with contemporary Asian currents – all built around the notion of social agency. The aim of this approach is to cultivate synergies and coherence between people and projects. IIAS also welcomes research for the open cluster, so as not to exclude potentially significant and interesting topics. Visit www.iias.nl for more information.

Global Asia

THE GLOBAL ASIA CLUSTER addresses contemporary issues related to trans-national interactions within the Asian region as well as Asia's projection into the world, through the movement of goods, people, ideas, knowledge, ideologies and so forth. Past and present trends are addressed. The cluster aims to expand the understanding of the processes of globalisation by considering the various ways Asian and other world regions are interconnected within a long-term historical framework. Acknowledging the central role of Asia as an agent of global transformations, it challenges western perspectives that underlie much of the current literature on the subject and explores new forms of non-hegemonic intellectual interactions in the form of 'south-south-north' and 'east-west' dialogue models. In principle, any research dealing with Asian global interactions is of interest.

Asian Borderlands Research Network (www.asianborderlands.net)
The Asian Borderlands Research Network focuses particularly on the border regions between South Asia, Central/East and Southeast Asia. The concerns of the ABRN are varied, ranging from migratory movements, transformations in cultural, linguistic and religious practices, to ethnic mobilization and conflict, marginalisation, and environmental concerns. The ABRN organises a conference in one of these border regions every two years in co-operation with a local partner. Next conference: Dynamic Borderlands: Livelihoods, Communities and Flows; Kathmandu, Nepal, 12-14 December 2016.
Coordinator: Eric de Maaker (maaker@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

Energy Programme Asia (EPA)
The EPA-research programme is designed to study the effects of global geopolitics of energy security on the one hand, and policy to increase energy efficiency and estimating the prospects for the exploitation of renewable energy resources on the other. EPA's current and second joint comparative research programme with the Institute of West Asian and African Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences is entitled *The Transnationalization of China's Oil Industry: company strategies, embedded projects, and relations with institutions and stakeholders in resource-rich countries (2013-2017)*. Involving various Chinese and Dutch research institutes, this programme will analyse China's increasing involvement with governments, local institutions and local stakeholders in the energy sectors of a number of resource-rich countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, notably Sudan, Ghana, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Venezuela, and Brazil. It seeks to determine patterns of interaction between national institutions and Chinese companies, their relationships to foreign investment projects, and the extent to which they are embedded in the local economies. This programme is sponsored by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Social Sciences (KNAW), the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and IIAS.
Coordinators: M. Amineh, Programme Director EPA-IIAS (m.p.amineh@uva.nl or m.p.amineh@iias.nl), Y. Guang, Progamme Director EPA-IWAAS/CASS
Website: www.iias.nl/research/energy-programme-asia-epa

IIAS Centre for Regulation and Governance
The IIAS Centre for Regulation and Governance in Asia, is engaged in innovative and comparative research on theories and practices – focusing on emerging markets of Asia. Its multi-disciplinary research undertakings combine approaches from political economy, law, public administration, criminology, and sociology in the comparative analysis of regulatory issues in Asia and in developing theories of governance pertinent to Asian realities.
Coordinator: Tak-Wing Ngo

Asian Studies in Africa
Since 2010, IIAS and other partners from Africa, Asia and the USA have been working on an initiative to promote the study of and teaching on Asia at African universities and, equally, to promote African Studies in Asia. The initiative constitutes a first attempt to sustain a humanities-informed South-South knowledge platform with connections between other academic centers in Europe and North America, but also Latin-America and Oceania.

In 2012, a roundtable in Chisamba, Zambia, led to the establishment of the pan-African 'Association of Asian Studies in Africa' (A-ASIA). A-ASIA's development is headed by a steering committee of scholars, mainly from Africa and Asia. In September 2015, A-ASIA held its three-day inaugural conference, in Accra, Ghana, called 'AFRICA-ASIA: A New Axis of Knowledge'. It was the first conference held in Africa to bring together a multidisciplinary ensemble of scholars and institutions from the continent and the rest of the world with a shared focus on Asia and Asia-Africa intellectual interactions.
Website: www.africas.asia

Asian Cities

WITH A SPECIAL EYE on contemporary developments, the Asian Cities cluster aims to explore the longstanding Asian urban "tradition", by exploring the origins of urbanism and urban culture in different parts of Asia and linking the various elements of city cultures and societies, from ancient to modern (colonial and post-colonial) times. Through an international knowledge-network of experts, cities and research institutes it seeks to encourage social scientists and scholars in the humanities to interact with contemporary actors including artists, activists, planners and architects, educators, and policy makers. By bringing together science and practice, IIAS aims to create a platform for scholars and urban practitioners focusing on Asian cities 'in context' and beyond traditional western norms of knowledge.

Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA)
Consisting of over 100 researchers with affiliations at 17 institutes in Europe, China, India and the United States, the Urban Knowledge Network Asia (UKNA) represents the largest global academic network on Asian cities. UKNA's objective is to nurture contextualised and policy-relevant knowledge on Asian cities, seeking to influence policy by contributing insights that put people at the centre of urban governance and development strategies.

Between April 2012 and April 2016, the staff exchanges within the UKNA network were funded by a grant awarded by the EU. The success of the UKNA synergy has encouraged the network's partners to carry on with their joint effort and plans are underway to expand the network and broaden its research agenda. See page 48 of this issue of The Newsletter for more information.
Coordinator: Paul Rabé (p.e.rabe@iias.nl)
Website: www.ukna.asia

Asian Heritages

THE ASIAN HERITAGES CLUSTER focuses on the uses of culture and cultural heritage practices in Asia. It addresses the variety of definitions associated with heritage and their implications for social agency. In particular, it explores the notion of heritage as it evolved from an originally European concept primarily associated with architecture and monumental archaeology to incorporate a broader diversity of cultural forms and values. This includes the contested assertions of 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritages, and the importance of cultural heritage in defining one's own identity or identities vis-à-vis those of others. It aims to engage with the concepts of 'authenticity', 'national heritage' and 'shared heritage' and issues pertaining to the political economy of heritage. Attention is also given to the dangers of commodification of perceived endangered local cultures/heritages, languages, religious practices, crafts and art forms, as well as material vernacular heritage.

International Graduate Double Degree Programme in Critical Heritage Studies
Over the last few years, IIAS has been intensively engaged with the Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS) and targeted Asian partners, in the development of an international Double Degree programme for graduate students in the field of 'Critical Heritage Studies of Asia and Europe'. To date, the Asian partners involved have been two departments of National Taiwan University and one department of Yonsei University in South Korea; contacts with other possible Asian partner institutes are being explored. The programme offers selected students the opportunity to follow a full year study at one of the partner institutes with full credits and a double degree. The curriculum at Leiden University is supported by the IIAS Asian Heritages research cluster and benefits from the contributions of Prof Michael Herzfeld (Harvard) as a guest teacher and the Senior Advisor to the Critical Heritage Studies Initiative of IIAS.
Contact: Elena Paskaleva (e.g.paskaleva@hum.leidenuniv.nl) or Willem Vogelsang (w.j.vogelsang@iias.nl)
Website: www.iias.nl/critical-heritage-studies

Indian Medical Heritage Research Network
The Indian Medical Heritage Research Network wants to stimulate social-cultural and social-historical research on Indian medical traditions such as Ayurveda, Unanitibb, Siddha, Yoga and Sowa Rigpa. Of special interest is the integration of Indian medicine in Indian public health and its role as second resort for middle class Indians and Europeans. The network offers a virtual space on Facebook (www.facebook.com/IndianMedicalHeritage) for collating research findings and other information about India's medical heritage covering diverse perspectives, interests and backgrounds.
Website: www.iias.nl/indianmedicine
Coordinator: Maarten Bode (m.bode@uva.nl)

Humanities across Borders: Asia and Africa in the World

A four year programme supported by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation
The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) at Leiden University has recently been awarded a four-year grant by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, New York, to facilitate a collaborative platform of over twenty Asian, African, European and North American universities and their local social and cultural partners, for the co-creation of a new humanistic pedagogical model. This follows the successful completion in 2016 of a three-year project *(Rethinking Asian Studies in a Global Context),* supported by the same foundation, to rethink the scholarly practice of area (Asia) studies in today's global postcolonial context. IIAS is grateful to the Mellon Foundation and Leiden University for their continuing support.

The new programme titled 'Humanities across Borders: Asia and Africa in the World' calls for expanding the scope of the humanities by mobilizing knowledge-practices that have largely remained unrepresented in contemporary academia. It will connect a global network of individuals and institutions capable of garnering such knowledge in Asia and Africa in order to develop alternative pedagogies for teaching, research, and dissemination across disciplinary, national, and institutional borders. The aim is to contribute to the realignment of the social role and mission of institutions of higher learning with regard to the humanistic values that inspired their establishment in the first place.

The objectives of this four-year initiative are: (1) The establishment of a trans-regional consortium of scholars, educators, and institutions committed to innovations in research and education; (2) methodological interventions through a focus on key sites of knowledge-practices in four regions – Southeast Asia, South Asia, East Asia, and West Africa – to benefit from their comparative potential; (3) the encouragement of university-society linkages and, when possible, their institutionalization in the form of trans-disciplinary centres for testing curricula and pedagogies in partner institutions; (4) the development of a curricular matrix responsive to forms of humanistic knowledge-practices across borders.

Dr Philippe Peycam will direct the overall coordination of this programme, Dr Aarti Kawlra will function as its Academic Director and Titia van der Maas will serve as the Programme Coordinator.

We wish to thank all our partners for agreeing to work together with IIAS under this exciting new initiative and look forward to keeping you informed on the progress of this programme through the IIAS Newsletter and website.

IIAS Fellowship Programme

Along with the research fellows who are attached to one of the IIAS research programmes, the Institute yearly hosts a large number of visiting researchers (affiliated fellows) who come to Leiden to work on their own individual research project. In addition, IIAS also facilitates the teaching and research by various professorial fellows as part of agreements with Dutch universities, foreign ministries and funding organisations.

CURRENT FELLOWS

Mehdi Amineh
Coordinator
'Energy Programme Asia (EPA)'
Domestic and geopolitical challenges to energy security for China and the European Union
1 Sept 2007 – 31 Mar 2017

Alessandro Battistini
The "Nepalese Anonymous": an original(?) commentary to Ānandavardhana's Devīśataka (edition and translation)
15 Oct 2016 – 15 Apr 2017

Somdev Vasudeva
Śobhākara's Logic of Aesthetics
1 Oct 2016 – 31 Mar 2017

Debjani Bhattacharyya
Hydrologics: Property, law and the urbane environment in the Bengal Delta
5 Oct 2016 – 31 Mar 2017

Lung-hsing Chu
Meeting in Nagasaki: Rethinking Western Influence on Japanese Material Culture in the later Edo Peri
1 Oct 2016 – 31 July 2017

Jatin Dua
A Sea of Protection: Piracy, Trade, and Regulation in the Indian Ocean
1 Oct 2016 – 31 July 2017

Gregory Goulding
The Cold War poetics of Muktibodh: a study of Hindi internationalism, 1943-1964
1 Sept 2016 – 31 July 2017

Pralay Kanungo
Visiting Professor,
India Studies Chair (ICCR)
Indian politics
1 Sept 2013 - 30 June 2017

Neena Talwar Kanungo
The arrival of digital democracy in India: Social media and political parties
1 July 2016 – 30 June 2017

Adam Knee
Kingdom of the imagination: Thailand in world cinema
1 Sept 2016 – 30 June 2017

Mahmood Kooria
Malabar in Zanzibar: Asian-African Intersections in the circulation of legal texts across the Indian Ocean
1 Sept 2016 – 28 Feb 2017

Radu Leca
Myriad Countries: The Outside World on Historical Maps of Japan
1 Oct 2016 – 31 July 2017

Carola Erika Lorea
Folklore, religion and diaspora: the migration of oral traditions across and beyond the East Bengal border
1 Sept 2016 – 30 June 2017

Giacomo Mantovan
Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora
1 Sept 2016 – 30 June 2017

Sayana Namsaraeva
Nested Subjects on the China-Russia-Mongolia border
1 June 2016 – 30 Nov 2016

Steffen Rimner
The Asian origins of global drug control
1 July 2016 – 31 May 2017

Bal Gopal Shrestha
Religiosity among the Nepalese Diaspora
1 Jan 2015 – 31 Dec 2017

Sebastian Schwecke
Informal monetary markets
1 Oct 2016 – 31 Jan 2018

Ady van den Stock
'Wisdom' as a category of knowledge and a marker of cultural identity: reinterpretations of Wang Yangming in modern China
26 Sep 2016 – 26 July 2017

Emilia Roza Sulek
The 'caterpillar fungus boom' and its socio-economic consequences for Tibetan pastoral society in Golok, Qinghai Province, China
1 Aug 2016 – 31 Dec 2016

Mayuke Tanabe
The socio-cultural impact of Japanese-Moroccan cooperation in the fishing industry
1 Jan 2016 – 31 Dec 2016

Yu QIU
Complicit Intimacy: a study of Nigerian-Chinese intimate/business partnerships in South China
1 July 2016 – 31 Dec 2016

Shu-li WANG
The Politics of China's cultural heritage on display: Yin Xu Archaeological Park in the making
1 Sept 2015 – 31 Aug 2017

Gonda Fellowships for Indologists

FOR PROMISING YOUNG INDOLOGISTS at the post-doctorate level, it is possible to apply for funding with the J. Gonda Foundation, to spend three to six months doing research at IIAS. Please send your application to the J. Gonda Foundation by the appropriate deadline below. The J. Gonda Foundation of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) supports the scholarly study of Sanskrit, other Indian languages and literature, and Indian cultural history. In addition to enabling Indologists to spend time at IIAS, the foundation offers funding for projects or publications in Indology of both researchers and scientific publishers, as well as PhD grants.

Application form: www.knaw.nl/en/awards/subsidies/gonda-fund
Application deadline: 1 April and 1 October every year

ASC-IIAS Fellowship Programme

A joint fellowship offered by the African Studies Centre and the International Institute for Asian Studies

THIS FELLOWSHIP is intended for researchers specialising in Asian-African interactions. It aims to attract researchers whose work is informed by current theoretical debates, in the social sciences and humanities, on global connectivities and who are able to critically engage with shifting paradigms in 'area studies' beyond the ways in which these have traditionally been conceived in the West. We are particularly interested in receiving fellowship proposals that go beyond a mere analysis of current issues associated with African-Asian comparative economic developments or Chinese investments in Africa – although none of these themes, if appraised critically and for their societal consequences, will of course be excluded. Our definition of Asia and Africa is broad and inclusive, Asia ranging from the Middle-East to the Pacific Coast, and Africa from North-Africa to the southern tip of the continent.

Application deadline: 15 March and 15 September each year.
For more information and application form, go to: www.iias.nl/page/asc-iias-fellowship-programme

IN THE SPOTLIGHT

Steffen Rimner

Macro-region gone missing: the Pacific Rim

WHAT ATTRACTED ME to Leiden University and to IIAS were, above all, two major qualities. First, Leiden has shown great interest in scholarship on multiple registers of Asia's relations with the wider world. The work of my colleagues here explores the local, national, regional and global aspects of historical change. Second, Leiden's commitment to inter-disciplinarity is as conspicuous as it is gratifying. The energetic pursuit of international history and international relations in conjunction is especially close to my heart.

In Leiden, many understand that one country's perspective just won't do. The burgeoning internationalization reflected by IIAS extends beyond its walls. I see it also at the Institute of History and the new spate of teachers and scholars in International Studies at the campus in Den Haag. Little wonder, then, that the Times Higher Education ranked Leiden's Arts and Humanities faculty at the top of European continental universities in 2015-16!

Before my arrival from Japan this summer, I was fortunate to have received an international education. I took my B.A. at the University of Konstanz, continued at Yale University, did language studies in China, Taiwan and Japan and received my Ph.D. in international history at Harvard University in 2014. Since then, I have held fellowships at Yale and Oxford and taught at Columbia in an appointment at the university's only global teaching program.

At IIAS, I am finishing my first book for Harvard University Press. Based on multi-lingual, archival research in eleven countries, the book recasts the origins of global drug control in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It ranges from the Opium Wars to the League of Nations to explore how social, ideological, economic and political forces created a global regime of oversight that cut straight into the financial interests of all great empires. The results were deep and wide-ranging, from transnational movements to multi-imperial cooperation, the non-governmental foundations of global governance, state compliance in international law and defining features of international public health crises.

In my past research and teaching, I have been fascinated by the Pacific Rim (or "trans-Pacific" relations) as a largely neglected macro-region. Classic world maps bring the Atlantic Ocean center stage, whereas the Pacific finds itself awkwardly cut in two. Yet, Pearl Harbor is in Hawaii, North Korea projects its nuclear power across the Pacific and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) means what it says. Beyond these examples, the Pacific Rim has historically played a critical role in international society and global politics throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. Migration, trade, ideas, culture and political tensions have "flowed" across these waters despite the vast distances involved. Shouldn't we try to understand why?

Along similar lines, my publications include "Beyond the Call of Duty: Cosmopolitan Education and the Origins of Asian-American Women's Medicine," in *Asia Pacific in the Age of Globalization,* a contribution to the Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series, and an article on the Chinese-American-Cuban-Peruvian connection in the "coolie trade", to appear in the November issue of the *Journal of Global History.* During my stay at IIAS, I will give talks in Leiden, the UK and possibly Japan.

Leiden's intellectual vitality, collegiality and open-mindedness have made my stay a great pleasure. Beyond my stay at IIAS, I do hope to find a job somewhere in the world, preferably resonating with the themes outlined above.

Emilia Roza Sulek

Caterpillar fungus boom in Tibet

ARE THERE TIBETAN pastoralists who thrive in China's new economy, and do the stories about the 'ecological resettlement' (see pages 4-5 in this issue) tell the whole truth about Tibet's pastoral society? I wrote my dissertation about such economically successful pastoralists and came to the IIAS to transform it into a book manuscript.

In my book, I analyse a regional economic boom based upon the trade in caterpillar fungus, an expensive medicinal resource endemic to the Tibetan plateau. This trade witnessed a gradual rise in popularity after the economic reforms of the 1980s, and in the early 2000s it grew to such a size that it became compared to a 'gold rush'. Wild harvesting and sale of caterpillar fungus became the main source of income for the pastoralists in regions such as Golok where I conducted my research. This research revealed that the pastoralists not only earn their income from caterpillar fungus, but also use profits to transform their lives and environments in novel ways. In my book, I analyze the complex character of this transformation, ranging from changes in pastoral production to infrastructural investments. The pastoralists, as pictured in this study, appear as active agents of change who use their new-found prosperity to accomplish their own goals. They demonstrate human agency and skills often neglected in studies devoted to Tibetan pastoral societies of China.

The IIAS is where I always wanted to go. I subscribed to the Newsletter during my undergraduate years in Warsaw and imagined the Institute with its multi-disciplinary approach as the place where I could fully develop my interests. In fact, the first report from my fieldwork, a crime story entitled "Tseren's last gold rush", I published nowhere other than in *The Newsletter* (issue #46)! Since my childhood I have also always wanted to go to the Netherlands. My uncle worked at the flower fair in Aalsmeer and I remember all his stories and postcards from that time. Leiden is a good match to my imagination. It has fertile soil for working on my book and offers inspiration on other levels. I like the canals with their still water at night, numberless bridges (I have to think about van Gogh and Hiroshige) and seagulls waiting to steal your *broodje*. I enjoy the North Sea air and the *Hollandse Nieuwe* at the market. I engulf myself in Leiden's history, discovering its hidden gems: the clock (from before the pendulum era!) in the Hooglandsche Kerk, the oasis-like alms-houses and the Café De Bonte Koe, which was meant to be a butcher's shop. It's a pity they don't serve *Jenever* in *Leidse flessen!* My anthropology of daily life would not be complete without the Netherlands' best kept secret: its food, which, as many other things, is *lekker*.

FELLOWSHIPS AT IIAS

The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden, the Netherlands, invites outstanding researchers to apply for a fellowship to work on a relevant piece of research in the social sciences and humanities.

WE ARE PARTICULARLY interested in researchers focusing on one of the Institute's three thematic clusters. However, some positions will be reserved for outstanding projects in any area outside of those listed.

Asian Cities

The Asian Cities cluster explores modes of urban development, and deals with cities and urban cultures with related issues of flows and fluxes, ideas and goods, cosmopolitism and connectivity at their core, framing the existence of vibrant 'civil societies' and political micro-cultures. Through an international knowledge network, IIAS aims to create a platform for scholars and urban practitioners focusing on Asian cities 'in context' and beyond traditional western norms of knowledge.

Asian Heritages

This cluster focuses on the politics of culture and cultural heritages in Asia. It addresses a variety of definitions associated with cultural heritage and their implications for social agency. In general, the cluster engages with a broad range of concepts and issues related to culture and cultural heritage, and their importance in defining one's identity vis-à-vis those of others.

Global Asia

The Global Asia cluster examines examples of and issues related to multiple, transnational intra-Asian interactions as well as Asia's projection in the world. Historical experiences as well as more contemporary trends are addressed.

Research projects that can contribute to new, historically contextualised, multidisciplinary knowledge, with the capacity of translating this into social and policy relevant initiatives, will be privileged.

For information on the research clusters and application form visit our website:

www.iias.nl

IIAS
International Institute for Asian Studies

Chaekgeori: the power of books

The exhibition *The Power and Pleasure of Possessions in Korean Painted Screens* explores the genre of Korean still-life painting known as *chaekgeori* 冊巨里 (loosely translated as 'books and things'). *Chaekgeori* [*Check-oh-ree,* 책거리) was one of the most prolific art forms of Korea's Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), and it continues to be used today. It often depicts books and other material commodities as symbolic embodiments of knowledge, power, and social reform. For the first time in the United States, more than twenty screen paintings dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the Joseon dynasty are on view at the Charles B. Wang Center at Stony Brook University in New York.

Jinyoung Jin

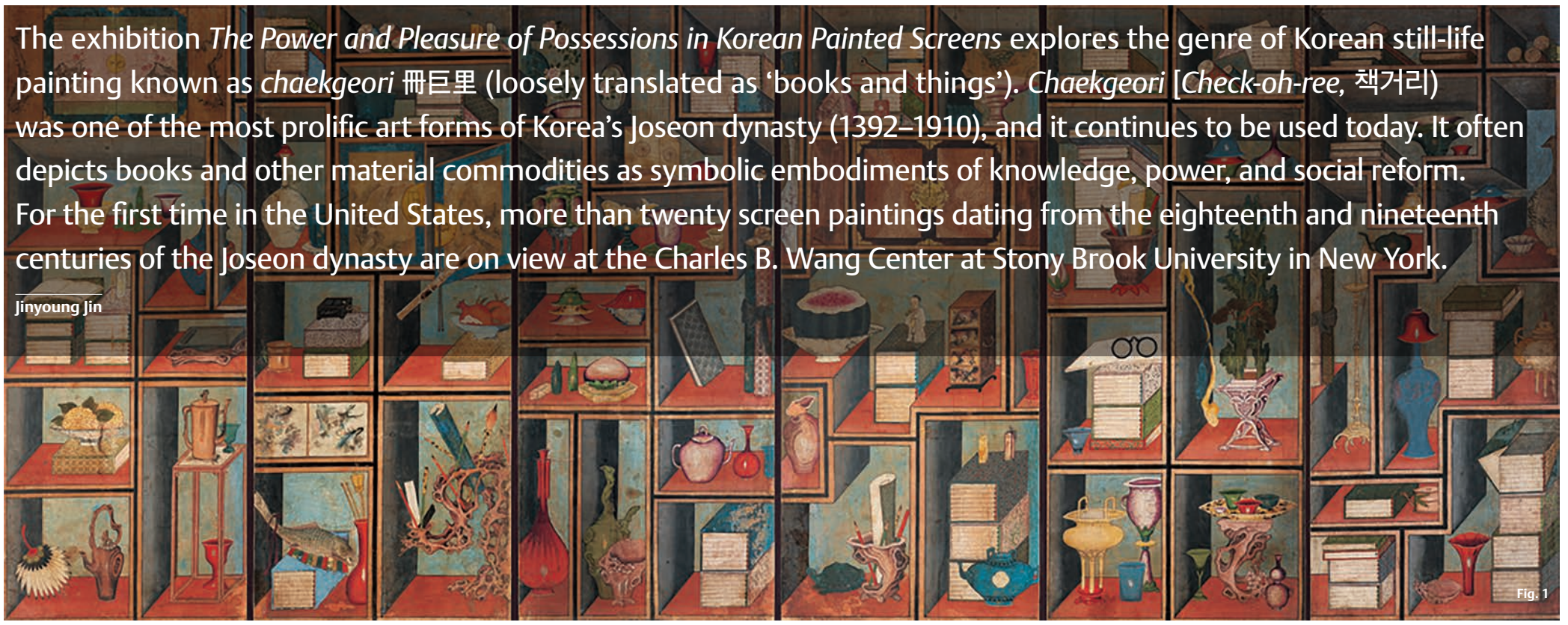

Fig. 1

The Power and Pleasure of Possessions in Korean Painted Screens
Showing at the Charles B. Wang Center, Stony Brook University (until 23 December 2016)
Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas (8 April–12 June 2017)
Cleveland Museum of Art (5 August–5 November 2017)

CURATED BY A GROUP of Korean art experts that include Byungmo Chung (professor, Gyeongju University), Sunglim Kim (professor, Dartmouth College), Jinyoung Jin (Director of Cultural Programs, Charles B. Wang Center), Sooa Im McCormick (Assistant Curator of Asian Art, Cleveland Museum of Art), and Kris Imants Ercums (Curator of Global Contemporary and Asian Art, Spencer Museum of Art), this collection showcases marvelous and rare examples of *chaekgeori* screens alongside the works of a diverse body of contemporary artists who continue this genre into the twenty-first century. Seven contemporary artists featured in the exhibition are Stephanie S. Lee, Seongmin Ahn, Kyoungtack Hong, Patrick Hughes, Sungpa, Young-Shik Kim, and Airan Kang.

Initially intended as a means to maintain and promote the disciplined Confucian lifestyle of Joseon Korea against an influx of ideas and technology from abroad, King Jeongjo (1752-1800, r. 1776-1800) encouraged court painters to emphasize books as the main subjects of royal screen paintings and to embrace the power of books and the ideas contained within them. Realizing that books were vehicles of change in his society, King Jeongjo worked hard to popularize the idea of books as symbols able to transcend the tangible originals among Korea's artisans and other elites. In the process, the value of physical books actually increased and became highly sought-after. This desire for books and other commodities in Korea set in motion a significant social and cultural shift toward materialism that has continued into the twenty-first century. One can say that *chaekgeori* paintings not only have the ability to teach and inspire, but they also possess the power to shape the values of a society.

One masterpiece in the exhibit serves as a great example of this. The piece in question is a six-panel screen that has a distinct rhythmical balance in its composition, depicting a full stack of books and luxurious objects (fig. 1). Chinese curiosities from the Qing dynasty (1644–1912) flooded the homes of the upper classes of Korea during this period, and this is reflected in this screen. Books mingle with scholarly objects (such as imported Chinese ceramics, brushes, paper, eyeglasses, and the like), all competing for prominence of place and the attention of the viewer. Each section elegantly displays scholarly accoutrements and prized collectibles, often in the shape of or featuring images of auspicious symbols. These images together signify the hope for academic achievement, social advancement, longevity, the birth of many sons, and happiness. The screen also utilizes European linear perspective, trompe l'oeil, and shading effects to create the illusion of three-dimensional space.

The flexible yet timeless themes *chaekgeori* emphasizes and the numerous possibilities and techniques it can utilize have ensured the genre's ongoing popularity, now stretching for more than two centuries. No other genre or medium in Korean art, in both literati and folk painting, has so engaged and documented the image of books and collectable commodities, and the changes in how we view and value them over time. And when the genre transitioned into folk-style painting, new and unexpected visual elements emerged. Folk-style *chaekgeori* expanded the range of subjects beyond books to express surrealistic dreams and more. For example, an unusual feature of this particular late nineteenth-century screen (fig. 2) is its depiction of clouds and a dragon. The dragon symbolizes the desire for many sons, the wish to educate them, and the hope to have them improve their social status through education. The surrealistic depictions of such earthly desires is a testament to the incredible imagination inherent in folk-style *chaekgeori*.

The exhibition also showcases how this artistic genre has been utilized by today's artists. For example, in Airan Kang's *Digital Book Project* installation, books glow, catching the viewer's eye, yet they simultaneously invite and forbid access as embodiments of ideals (fig. 3). This aspect of her work can be directly compared to the representation of books in *chaekgoeri* paintings, where books are symbols of ideas, inaccessible objects that ultimately surpass their original, physical meaning and being. In our increasingly paperless and digitized society, Kang depicts books as still holding an inner light, an artistic decision which seems to be an argument against the practice of valuing books solely as material commodities.

In his *Library* series, Kyoungtack Hong paints still-lifes filled to the brim with books, birds, and plants. The results are often surrealistic with materialistic overtones. Whereas in traditional *chaekgeori* paintings objects take on a privileged aura, in Hong's paintings the materials of old – Chinese ceramics, fabrics, lacquered boxes – yield to plastics, mass-produced disposables, and impersonal objects. In his *Library 3* (fig. 4), thousands of books serve as space defining objects, backgrounds, and pedestals for hundreds of mass-produced toys. These toys, due to sheer quantity and our preconceived notion of their value, are ultimately of little importance. On the left side of the painting, three skulls enter the pictorial space. Symbolizing death, they are a stark contrast to the durable plasticity of the toys, as if to forecast an impending doomsday. On the right side, the Virgin Mary acts as a quintessential (yet also ironic) representation of Western religion, ethics, and humanity. Through these juxtapositions, Hong reminds his viewers that there is more to life than the ownership of uncountable objects, especially when said objects are so empty of any transcendental value or meaning. Books are in the background of our lives, much like in Hong's painting, serving as props for materialism. Using *chaekgeori,* Hong is able to astutely critique this state of affairs. The other modern artists featured in the exhibition make similar (yet also differing) commentaries on these themes, using a genre created and promoted expressly to combat against materialism.

The significance of any work of art consists largely in the work's ability to carry and communicate embodied meaning. And when it comes to documenting, engaging, and commenting on the culture of consumption, no other genre or medium in Korean art can compare to *chaekgeori*. By drawing on a long artistic lineage and making comparisons to the traditional form and objectives of *chaekgeori* with contemporary examples, The *Power and Pleasure of Possessions in Korean Painted Screens* facilitates a better understanding of the intellectual curiosity and the desire to own commodities that animated Korean society then and that continue to animate us now – and how these powerful urges continue to be portrayed in art.

Jinyoung Jin (Director of Cultural Programs, The Charles B. Wang Center).

Fig. 3

Fig. 1: *Chaekgeori,* the Scholar's Accoutrements. Late eighteenth to early nineteenth-century Korea. Six-panel screen, ink and color on paper. 60″(H) x 157″(W). The Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art.

Fig. 2: *Chaekgeori,* the Scholar's Accoutrements. Late nineteenth-century Korea. Seven-panel screen, ink & color on paper. 42″(H) x 162″(W). The Chosun Minhwa Museum.

Fig. 3: Airan Kang, *Digital Book Project: The Luminous Poem,* 2011. Custom electronics, LEDs, and resin. Dimension varies.

Fig. 4: Kyoungtack Hong, *Library 3,* 1995-2001. Oil on canvas. 71¼″ x 89″.

Fig. 2

Fig. 4